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A HISTORY OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

BY

WILLIAM CANTON

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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FOURTH PERIOD, 1854—1884

CHAPTER XXX

CORAL AND PALM (I.)

ONCE more we revisit the coral isles and volcanic clusters of Polynesia; and here, as in other regions, we find the work of the Society assuming vast proportions. During the thirty years of this period our survey, following the track of the sun, will sweep along five thousand miles of sea, and we shall have to take account of eleven new languages.

When we left Tahiti, stocks were running low, and an earnest appeal for fresh supplies had been sent to the Bible House. Three thousand copies of the New Testament, including a number for the use of schools, reached the island in September 1854; 7000 more were awaiting the *John Williams* at Sydney; and in the following year the Committee voted £200 towards the expenses of distribution in the scattered district of the mission.

By this time the last half-dozen copies of the revised Bible of 1847 had been sold. The task of further revision was finished in 1858; but it was not until the autumn of 1860 that the Rev. Alexander Chisholm brought the text home, and the printing of the third edition of the Tahiti Bible was put in train. In Tahiti, where it was the determined policy of the French to prevent Protestant missionaries from preaching the Gospel to the natives, the circulation of the Scriptures was the only means of propagating or of safe-

guarding the faith once delivered to the saints. But the area for which this version was designed extended far beyond the island; it included the whole of the Society group, the low coral rings of the Paumotus, and the Tubuai or Austral Archipelago. Throughout this wide expanse, Mr Chisholm reported, it was a rare thing to find a family destitute of the Word of God. He landed on Rapa, the remotest of the Austral Isles. For several years there had not been even a native teacher there. Had the dusky children of sun and sea fallen back into heathenism and savagery? Far from that. He and his colleague were surrounded by eager questioners; wherever they turned, "the path was beset by men and women who were determined that every moment should be spent in explaining to them the Word of God; and at night, no sooner had one dropped asleep from sheer exhaustion than the other was roused up again to take his place."

This third edition of the Bible was printed in paragraph form, with the marginal references which the islanders were so eager to possess after seeing the value of those in the English version: "Never mind the expense; we will find the money." Five thousand copies were passing through the press, and the Gospel of St John had been reached when Mr Chisholm died of heart-disease in May 1862; but happily the Committee were able to bring the work to completion with the aid of the Rev. Joseph Moore of Congleton, who had been stationed in Tahiti in the early forties. Copies from the first consignment were presented to Queen Pomare, her husband, and the Governor in March 1864; people flocked in haste from all parts lest they should be too late in their application; and both in that and the following year a considerable number of Bibles were given away to those who were too poor to pay for them. With what steady earnestness many desired "the blessed Book" may be conjectured from the incident of one man who came from a distant island in quest of the Word of Life. "His money was covered with a thick

blue mould"—so long had he been obliged to keep it before he was able to come.

But the quickening demands from Raiatea (for 2000 New Testaments, increased in the next letter to 5000), from Huahine, from the Dangerous Archipelago, left little time for the growth of blue mould. The third edition of the Bible ran out, and in 1878 a fourth (5000 copies), still further amended and furnished with maps, was put to press under the supervision of the Rev. A. T. Saville; but many months before it got to its destination a new king and queen occupied the throne of Tahiti.

To the great sorrow of her people, Queen Pomare died suddenly on the 17th September 1877, in the sixty-fifth year of her age. So completely had the old heathenism passed into oblivion that one rarely thought of her as the only daughter of Pomare II., who assisted Henry Nott in his translations and transcribed the Gospel of St John—still less as the Princess whose first name (Aimata) was "the last souvenir of the royal privilege among a race of cannibals."[1] "In the early years of her reign she was baptized by many a trial, and knew by hard experience how precious it was to have a refuge in Christ." She was succeeded by her son Ariiaue and his half-English wife,[2] and the first delivery of the fourth edition contained specially bound volumes for the acceptance of Queen Marau, her mother and sister, and other "high chiefs" of the islands. For nearly three years more this semblance of the native sovereignty was allowed to endure; but on the 19th May 1880 Tahiti and its dependencies were openly annexed as a French possession, and Roman Catholicism was proclaimed the religion of the State, though the status of the missionaries was safeguarded by association with the Paris Missionary Society.

[1] *See* vol. i. p. 302 *n.*

[2] The Rev. J. L. Green of the London Missionary Society and the Rev. F. Vernier of the Paris Missionary Society officiated at the marriage of Ariiaue and Princess Marau in 1874, and presented the royal couple with a copy of the Bible.

French rule, as we have seen, had done all in its power for the suppression of Evangelical truth and the furtherance of the Church of Rome; with little effect, however, on the people, who tested every doctrine by the touchstone of the Divine Word. For nearly forty years the native churches had been isolated and various errors had crept in, but the broad principles of the Gospel stood unimpaired. Bible classes attended by deacons and church members—several from considerable distances—kept the congregations in touch with the missionaries, whose MS. notes, copied by the native pastors even sixty miles away, served as a substitute for the spoken Word which had been prohibited.

The French priests adapted themselves to the situation. They claimed the Scriptures as their own book, which the Protestants had stolen and were distributing for the perversion of the faith. To the surprise of the English missionaries the Bible appeared in Roman Catholic pulpits, and the New Testament became a reading-book in Roman Catholic schools. Applying in 1878 for a free grant of 500 Testaments for the scholars in the London Missionary Society schools, the Rev. J. L. Green wrote: "I have very recently sold the Catholic Bishop twenty dollars' worth of Testaments, and he is now awaiting the arrival of the *John Williams* to get more of these copies, as my stock of cheap ones is exhausted. . . . I have no doubt the Catholics know that we sell the Testaments, and they, by way of strategy, give them for nothing, as an inducement to children to attend their schools." Their labours, nevertheless, can scarcely be said to have prospered. "Out of the eight thousand inhabitants [of Tahiti alone]," wrote Miss Gordon Cumming, who visited the island a few weeks after the Queen's death, "three hundred nominal adherents is the maximum which the Catholics themselves have ever claimed; but fifty is said to be nearer the mark."[1]

[1] Gordon Cumming, *A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-o-War*, vol. i. p. 277.

In 1882 Mr Green came to England on furlough, and the Committee decided to print under his care 15,000 copies of a small Bible to sell at 2s. The islanders were delighted at the good news, and many were anxious to deposit the price in advance. Throughout all the group such a volume would be welcome, and there was little misgiving that the whole expense would be made good. During the last twelve years had they not paid the Society at the rate of £220 per annum? This was the fifth and last revised edition of the Tahitian Bible. In 1884 Mr Green took out 4000 copies on his return to the station, which he was so soon to quit for ever—but the sequel to these matters belongs to the last period of our history.

"No longer were children summoned to school, and congregations to worship, by the King's messenger, lightly draped but gaily wreathed, passing swiftly round the village, blowing loud blasts on his great trumpet-shell."[1] Bells rang to church and school. Instead of the large plantain leaves inscribed with a blunt stick, letters were now written on common note-paper and bore the postage stamps of the French Republic. Papeete was a French town, with French sailors and soldiers, French officials, French gendarmes, black-robed French priests. The French flag flew over the island groups christianised by the men of the London Missionary Society; but thus far at least the natives had insisted on the priests allowing them the free use of the Word of Life; and the latter, seeing how hopeless was the attempt to divorce them from the Bible, "had been compelled, in order to retain their influence, to approve its circulation, and actually buy copies for their people from the Society."

Among the speakers at the anniversary meeting in May 1855 was the Rev. William Gill of Raratonga;[2] and by his

[1] Gordon Cumming, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 283.

[2] William Gill was one of the missionaries who accompanied John Williams on his last voyage from England in 1838, when the *Camden* took out the first Tahitian Bible and the first Raratongan New Testament.

side on the platform sat a son of the old native teacher Papehia, who had swum alone through the surf, two-and-thirty years before, when Raratonga was an island of cannibals, and had not perished but lived to bring them to Christ. To this son of his, heathenism was as strange as it was to the young people of this country; to see an idol he had to come to England, and visit a missionary museum. Mr Gill had reached home in 1853, and a week before the meeting he and Mr Meller had completed the printing of the second edition (5000 copies) of the Raratongan Bible. These were despatched by the *John Williams* in June 1856.

In the meanwhile the first edition had been sold out, the shipments of arrowroot in payment of the books realised over £1000, and the cost price had been more than covered. Money was still unknown in the Hervey Islands, and through the greater part of this period we must think of the *John Williams*, or some Sydney trader, gathering up the consignments of produce from Raratonga, Mangaia, and Aitutaki. The delight in the inspired pages had lost none of its freshness. They were still read in circles under the shade of the orange trees; they lay on the sick man's mat; they were bequeathed as a legacy to his dearest when he departed. "That," said an old chief, shortly before his death, as he looked up with a smile from the words "An house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens"—"that is my hope; that is my expectation."

With what miraculous efficacy the Word of God had changed the wild hearts of these creatures, let the story of Tongareva bear testimony. Seven hundred miles away to the north, low-lying atolls formed the out-stations of the mission. Of these, Tongareva or Penrhyn consisted of a number of small islets—mere fragments of the coral reef that surrounded an immense lagoon, and rose at the highest barely ten feet above the level of the sea. In 1857 the cocoa-nut crop failed on these patches of rock amid

the great waters, and the people were starving. The news reached Aitutaki, and when the *John Williams* put in there on the voyage to Sydney, twenty-four thousand cocoa-nuts were sent on board as an offering from the church and congregation to their suffering brethren. A strange and beautiful thing, that in these tracts of ocean, where for generations islet had warred with islet and the victors had crowned their triumph by destroying the fruit-trees of the vanquished, the dusky tribes had learned to see Christ in the stranger, to give Him meat in the hungry, to clothe Him in the naked. That unprecedented act of Christian charity was not the last, for the drought continued until numberless cocoa-nut trees had perished and several hundreds of the people had migrated in despair with one of their native teachers.

The first of these devoted teachers landed on Tongareva only three years before the famine; but already the old idols and magic drums had been abandoned, chapels and schools had been built, all the people were under instruction, and many had learned to read. The *John Williams* left them a supply of Raratongan Bibles; and one can picture how the canoes glided around the good ship's prow, and what flashing eyes were raised to the figure with the open Bible, which had brought them the food of earth and the bread of life everlasting. Cases had also been sent for Manihiki and Rakahanga, where the pleasant houses and stone-built chapels peering from the green palm-groves told of a new faith and a happier order. At the last of the out-stations, Pukapuka or Danger Island, where it seemed no friendly vessel had ever called before, Raratongan teachers were put on shore. The blessing of God prospered the work, and a few years later, when the *John Williams* was wrecked on the reef of Pukapuka, the first offering towards the purchase of another mission-ship came from the little brown children of the savage men who now appeared with a *maro* for

clothing and their heads fantastically adorned with white bark, tortoise-shell, and fish-tails. Who can tell for how much the apostolic zeal of these Raratongan teachers counted in the spread of the Gospel? In 1863 between forty and fifty were scattered among the heathen isles, as far west as the Loyalty group. They carried their lives in their hands,—well aware that even if they landed in safety they might be butchered as the cause of the first outbreak of sickness, hurricane, or earthquake.

In 1869 the third edition of the Raratongan Bible, with marginal references, was in preparation. The task was undertaken by the Rev. E. R. W. Krause, recently returned from the island, but in the midst of his revision he was struck down by paralysis, and it was completed by the Rev. George Gill (brother of the editor of the second edition), who had served in the Hervey group until 1860. Five thousand copies and 500 New Testaments were ready in 1872, and in the following year a large consignment was shipped for the mission stations.

Abrupt, volcanic, muffled in tropical foliage, Mangaia rises before us; without harbour or roadstead; circled with jagged coral and the heavy surf which a canoe alone can clear. Here in the dead of night—a brilliant moonlight night—the vessel bringing the cases for Mangaia struck on the deadly reef. "The whole of my people, with myself, were aroused," wrote the Rev. G. A. Harris. "They soon heard the tidings that the new Bibles had come, and were on board the vessel which was fast going to pieces. I overheard them say they were determined, if possible, to get the Bibles first. I stood by and watched them going off to the vessel. Frequently clouds blotted out the glorious light of the moon, and I could see neither vessel nor natives. Suffice it to say that in a very short time the whole of the eight cases were on shore, the natives having certainly risked their lives in the attempt to save them. Long before day-

light the vessel was entirely broken up." Greater love than this?[1]

It was about the middle of the seventies that the Society began to issue coloured maps with their Bibles. An earnest plea was urged that the plan should be extended to the Pacific versions, and that every possible aid should be given to these "babes in Christ" to understand the written Word of God. "In their ancient religious songs," wrote the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, "scores of places occurred, but then nobody cared, for it was all the region of myth and fairyland.[2] How many natives have said to me, 'What! Jerusalem actually in existence now?'" Five thousand sets of maps were accordingly forwarded to accompany the third edition, and after their use had been explained they were readily purchased.

As the period approached its close, it was pleasant but not surprising to read that the Bible was "the book of the people," their daily companion, their supreme law. Show chapter and verse, and every statement was accepted, every behest conceded. "'Hath God spoken?'—this is their mental attitude," however far short their actual practice might fall. Like the Tahitians, they paid their way—"owing no man anything, save to love one another."

In 1881 grievous anxiety was occasioned by the dread of annexation to France and prohibition of all trade with the English colonies. "All that these islanders possess of light, peace, and spiritual good," wrote Mr W. Wyatt Gill, "came from Britain. If they are to be under the yoke of France, we know what must follow: despotism, priestcraft, and very heavy taxation." That fate was averted.

After thirty-two years of missionary work Mr W. Wyatt Gill retired in 1883, and his services were engaged by the Committee for a thorough revision of the Raratongan text.

[1] The damaged copies were sold at the reduced rate of 4s., but the usual price for these Bibles ranged from 6s. to 10s. according to the quality of binding, and this was cheerfully paid in cotton, arrowroot, and other island produce.

[2] Not entirely. It was from "the sacred songs of his country" that Tupaia acquired much of the knowledge which enabled him to sketch, and "with tolerable accuracy," his curious map of Polynesia.—*See* Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 193.

The year 1855 was memorable in Samoa for the completion of an arduous and splendid enterprise: in September the revision and printing of the Old Testament were finished. Fourteen years after the publication of their first portion—the Gospel of St John—the entire Samoan Bible, printed in five volumes at the mission press by the natives themselves,[1] had been put in the hands of the people. A day of special thanksgiving was observed throughout the islands, and in all the principal villages public meetings were held to give expression to the universal joy.

This, however, was but the initial stage in the great work. The five volumes were divided among the missionaries for a searching revision; and in 1860, just as the island edition had been exhausted, the Rev. Dr Turner brought the corrected copy home with him, and the Committee undertook the first issue of the Samoan Bible in a single volume. Meanwhile, the 15,000 New Testaments sent out from the Bible House had been sold; the entire outlay, something over £1388, had been remitted to the Society, and a balance was left to meet incidental expenses.

At the anniversary meeting in 1862 Dr Turner, who had been helped by his accomplished wife in the revision of the proofs, was able to exhibit the results of his labours in a handsome volume of 1125 pages, furnished with references and dates. Ten thousand copies had been printed, and he predicted that as the cost of the New Testament had been cleared off in seven years, in yet another seven the Samoans would have repaid the present outlay. Already had 7000 copies of the Old and 25,000 of the New Testament been distributed among these lovely islands, which until 1830 had lain in the shadow of death. Throughout the whole of their 250 villages the system of heathenism had been swept away, and in a population of 34,000 there were not ten houses in

[1] In 1849-50, as we have seen, the Society published its first edition of the Samoan New Testament. For the island work here referred to it provided all the paper required.

which at least a copy of the New Testament was not to be found.

The first consignment (2000 copies) reached Apia on the 26th May 1863, and the vessel which conveyed them had on board a Roman Catholic bishop and a number of priests. "These men," wrote Dr Turner, "are more numerous in these seas than our Protestant missionaries"—and the half-burnt fragment of a Samoan Pentateuch bore witness to Rome's unrelenting hatred of the free Scriptures—"but, thank God, the entire Bible is now translated into seven of the Polynesian dialects, and partly translated into as many more." The books, which were priced at 7s. in sheep and 9s. in calf gilt-edged, were bought up at a rate beyond all previous experience, and the costlier were all disposed of first. "Money had not yet come largely into circulation, so we had to a great extent to receive cocoa-nut oil instead, and so great was the rush for some time that a man had to be employed at some of our principal stations to receive and measure the oil."[1] In 1864 the extraordinary sum of £1534 was received for sales; there was £888 more in 1865; and in 1869, and in fulfilment of Dr Turner's prediction, the whole outlay for material production—£3134—was reimbursed, and a surplus of some £120 went towards the accessory expenses.[2]

Here we must pause for a moment to glance at the Samoan out-stations. Some hundreds of miles to the north lay the Tokelau or Union Islands, in which the language was so similar to the Samoan that the missionaries decided to use the latter alone. The first native teachers were landed in November 1861; in 1863 the Rev. P. Goold Bird[3] visited Atafu. Polygamy, night dancing, and all manner of heathen abominations had passed away; little boys and

[1] Murray, *The Bible in the Pacific*, p. 48.

[2] Two cases of this edition were lost in the wreck of the *John Williams* in 1864.

[3] Mr Bird arrived at Samoa in July 1861, at the age of twenty-three. His young wife died at Niué in April 1864; himself at Malua, Upolo, in the August following. Such things were among the sorrows of the Church in the South Seas.

girls not much over ten years of age read the New Testament fluently; their chapel was built of native rose-wood, and was "a palace compared with some of our chapels in the Samoan villages." Westward of Tokelau, the Ellice Islands—palm-tufted coral reefs encircling sheets of translucent water — awaited the Gospel message; and there the Rev. A. W. Murray left teachers from the Malua Institution in May 1865. Henceforth these far-away atolls, Fakuofo, Funafuti, Vaitupu, and others nearer the equator, fill in the background of the story of Samoa.

Attention was now given to the production of a volume for the aged, whose failing sight had closed the use of the existing books. In 1868 the Rev. H. Nisbet brought home with him a revised text of the New Testament and Psalms; and 5000 copies were printed and put into circulation. For some time indeed the revision of the whole Bible had been in progress with a view to a definitive edition. As the task was accomplished by men familiar with the language for thirty years, and as there promised to be a demand for generations from the Tokelau, Ellice, and Gilbert groups, the version was stereotyped. Dr Turner saw it through the press, but Mrs Turner was no longer at his side to help him; and by the beginning of 1873 the first supplies were on the sea.

Fifteen thousand of this second edition were printed, and in 1883 only 2000 remained. But in spite of piety, scholarship, and scrupulous care the Samoan text was still found defective. As many as 1378 corrections were made, and Dr Turner was commissioned to see through the press a third edition (5000 copies), printed from a new set of plates.

Three hundred miles south of Samoa, green against the blue waters, shows the wooded crest of Niué: "Savage Island" it was named by Captain Cook, who found it a

hornets' nest of unapproachable barbarians. With a cheery farewell and a prayer for divine protection, Paulo the Samoan and his wife are put ashore: October 1849. Strangely enough they are not murdered straightway to avert disease or some unknown calamity; but their dresses are torn to see what their skin is like underneath; their goods are stolen, their pigs and fowls are killed. The fierce men with long wild hair and trappings of many-coloured feathers are held in check by a mysterious fetich —a book which the Samoans carry about with them, to which they speak, which talks to them. At length two noted braves are sent to slay the strangers. They steal up to the palm-thatched house; they see Paulo sitting quietly reading his book; they wait awhile. He still sits reading with a peaceful face; and a great fear and trembling fall upon them; they are powerless. Again they wait; it cannot be done; they speak to him, and then return home, restrained by the unseen hand of Him who said, "Touch not mine anointed ones, and do my prophets no harm." The man of the Book prevails.

Five years pass away. There are now two teachers. The Savage Islanders live no longer "like pigs in the bush." Two churches, villages of white coral-plastered houses, are fair to see in the clearings among the fruitful trees. Between two or three hundred of the people are learning Samoan, a tongue little like their own, in order that they may read the Word of God. The teachers—men of no great ability or high attainment, but men of prayer, men of the Book—are busy on a Niué version of the Testament. The MS. of the Gospel of St Mark is sent to Samoa revised by the Rev. George Pratt and Neemea, one of their own tribe, printed at the mission press in Upolu; and thousands of miles away the Committee at the Bible House are voting a hundred reams in answer to the request for more paper.

The 20th August 1861, and the *John Williams*, with the open Bible at her bow, lies off the reef of Niué. The landing-place is crowded with men and women, all clothed and in their right mind, though wildly eager "to shake and smell the hands" of their first white missionary and his wife. The Rev. W. G. Lawes, who brings them their St Mark, has come to live among them. No visible trace of heathenism remains. There are five teachers, five chapels, and schools filled with children—with old men and women too—at seven in the morning. The little book is greatly sought, and gladly paid for in cocoa-nut fibre and arrowroot: in a little while they will add to their resources by growing cotton. In the cool of the day the pastor comes upon men sitting at their doors, and reading aloud from its pages.[1] And these are the ferocious feathered savages of twelve years ago!

The three other Gospels and the Acts had been translated by the teachers. These were revised by the Rev. George Pratt, who added Philippians and the Epistles of St John. Two thousand copies of the fourth Gospel were issued from the mission press, and then the whole work was transferred to Sydney, printed on the Society's paper, and reached the island in 1863. "Never before had Niué possessed so large and precious a book. Sleep that night was out of the question for many of us." The cost was undertaken by the New South Wales Auxiliary, but with their cotton, arrow-root, and sinnet the islanders steadily cleared off the entire account.

It seemed a providence that those books were there to lighten the gloom and dispel the coldness and suspicion caused this year by the depredations of a fleet of Peruvian slavers. Twenty-five sail were scouring the South Seas, and a number of the islands had been swept of the finest of their inhabitants, though happily two of the men-stealers were wrecked and three captured by a man-of-war in the

[1] In 1862 there were 2000 readers in a population of 4700.

Hervey group. One hundred and sixty of the people of Niué had been carried off, and among them three teachers and many church members. "Fakaalofu, nakai fai tohi a lautolu!" ["Alas, no books have they with them!"] was the regretful cry of their sorrowing friends. But the story of a few who escaped proved that the Word of God was engraved on their hearts. The young men, battened in the hold, proposed a plan for overpowering the crew and taking the ship, but the elders said no, lest they should kill or injure any of their white oppressors. And at the hour of evening worship they joined in song and prayer to Him who made the brown man and the white.

The work of translation was continued by Mr Lawes; the New Testament was finished in 1866; 3500 copies of the entire volume were printed at Sydney by the Auxiliary; and the Book of Psalms, which followed, was in circulation in 1870. By this time his version of Genesis and Exodus was done, and the indefatigable translator, assisted by his brother Frank, again and again corrected the whole of the New Testament. When he sailed for England with his perfected copy in January 1872, the expenditure of the Auxiliary had been balanced by remittances from Niué amounting to £500; and henceforth the Savage Islanders were supplied direct from the Bible House. Mr Lawes supervised the production of the new edition—"a grand library (New Testament, Psalms and Exodus), all bound in calf with gilt edges; and for luxuries like this the people were only too glad to pay."

The first shipment was received in 1874. Mr Lawes was then on his way to unexplored fields in New Guinea, where Niué teachers—the children of the feathered cannibals—were awaiting him; and there in a little while we shall hear of him again. He was succeeded in Niué by his brother, who proceeded with the version of the Old Testament.

As the years went by, very few of the strong men who

protected the early teachers were left; but the hope of the world is in the young, and it was now chiefly the boys and girls who were the purchasers of the Scriptures. At the beginning of 1880 the whole of the Society's first edition had been sold out and paid for, and £770 had been forwarded to the Bible House. Out of 5000 people on the island 1670 were communicants, and in proportion to the population there was perhaps in Niué a larger number who could read and write than in any other part of the civilised world.

The Rev. Francis E. Lawes revisited England in 1880, and in the following year 5000 copies of the New Testament and Psalms, and in 1882 3000 of the Pentateuch, which he had brought with him, left the press. He returned to Niué, and, assisted by his wife, resumed his great enterprise with the books of Jonah, Ruth, and Joshua.

When the period closed no more than thirty-five years had elapsed since the two savages watched Paulo and his book talking together, and stood powerless, trembling with a great fear.

Three days' sail to the westward, we enter the eastern circuit of the Wesleyan Mission—Vavau, Happai, Tonga the Holy with its colossal tombs of the old kings, and some two or three score of smaller isles: in all a population of 22,000, more than half of which was able to read. The 10,000 copies of the Tongan New Testament printed by the Society were passing rapidly into circulation, and their widely extended use in the schools "rendered fruitless in almost every place the untiring efforts of Romish emissaries." For upwards of twenty years the different books of the Old Testament, printed in large and repeated issues at the mission press, had been criticised, revised, and amended; and in 1862 the Committee published their first edition (10,000 copies) of the Tongan Bible, under the editorship

of the Rev. Thomas West. A resolution passed at the Friendly Islands District Meeting in December 1863 expressed the joy and thankfulness of the people, and contained a request for 8000 New Testaments to meet the requirements of the children in the schools. These were promptly got ready, and despatched in the following year.

The records of the Society contain but few details of the work in this romantic archipelago. In every island and village, however, there was stationed a catechist who had the Scriptures for sale. The Word of God was read daily at family prayers, and there were few homes in which a copy of the New Testament was not to be found in the treasure-chest or carefully wrapped in tappa on a shelf. We learn from a passing traveller that in the three clusters—Tonga, Happai, and Vavau—there were in 1877, 125 chapels, with an average attendance of 19,000 persons, of whom 8000 were church members; and that 4 white missionaries superintended the work of 13 native ministers, upwards of 100 schoolmasters, and half as many more local preachers, while at the theological college in Tonga about 100 students were being trained as teachers and pastors.[1]

In 1878 the Rev. James Egan Moulton was sent home to prepare a revised edition of the New Testament. His version proved to be a great advance on the earlier text, but, as it failed to comply with the rules of the Society, it was issued by a private firm.

An Education Act was passed by the Tongan Parliament in 1883, prescribing the Bible as a text-book in all Government schools, and the Society's version for use in the Protestant schools. The whole of the remaining stock was accordingly in immediate request, and to prevent any delay in the application of the Act 7000 Bibles were at once put in hand by the Committee. A subscription of £5, 5s. was received as a friendly acknowledgment from the King of

[1] Gordon Cumming, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 44.

Tonga.[1] Up to 1885 the Society printed 35,276 copies of the Scriptures in Tongan, but from that date the island appears to have been supplied from New Zealand.

In Fiji 1854 was a notable year. On the 2nd May the islanders of Mbau were startled by the summons of the great drum Rogovogo Valu, "the Crier of War." It called them, not to a cannibal feast as it had called them ten days before, but to the spectacle of King Thakombau, his wives and children, and many of his warriors bending the knee in allegiance to the true God.[2] A month or two later the Society's first edition of the Fiji New Testament reached the neighbouring island of Viwa.

The missionaries had already completed the translation of the Old Testament; the Committee engaged to produce an edition of 5000 Bibles and 10,000 Testaments; and on the arrival of the Rev. James Calvert with the MS. in the summer of 1856 the work was begun. Progress, however, proved slower than was expected, and the printing had not advanced beyond the Book of Esther when Mr Calvert had to return to his station in 1862. The unfinished portion was placed under the editorial care of the Rev. R. B. Lyth, a missionary of the forties, whose medical skill had earned him the title of Matai ni mate, "the Carpenter of Sickness." To meet the urgent demands from Fiji, 5000 copies of the Four Gospels had been sent out in 1859; Mr Calvert took back with him 4000 New Testaments and 500 copies of the Old Testament books, Genesis to Esther; and an additional consignment of some thousands of Testaments followed at no great interval.

With what jubilant cries were the first cases of the first

[1] King George of Tonga died in 1893 at the age of a hundred ("wise in council, gallant in war, a shining example of personal piety to his people"), and was succeeded of his great-grandson Jioaji Tubou II.

[2] Thakombau was strongly influenced in taking this course by King George (Tubou) by Tonga. In January 1857 he abandoned polygamy, was publicly married to his chief queen, and both were baptized, he taking the name of Ebenezer and she that of Lydia.

Fiji Bible received in the islands in 1865; how the people left their work and ran with sparkling eyes up the hill to the mission-house to see them! Like Papehia in Raratonga, old Paulo Veu on his death-bed took the volume and kissed it, "Now, Lord, lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." Another, perhaps the most eminent, of the early teachers, the aged Joel Bulu, placed it on his head and exclaimed, with joyful tears, "How blessed are our eyes to see this glorious sight!" Mr Langham took it to the king's house, followed by a bright troop of dusky school children, singing as they went along, "Here is the Bible complete—look at it, look at it!" "But what about us chiefs," asked Thakombau, "who can read, and wish to have the whole book—can we not get a copy?" A copy had to be refused to one of them, for this first thousand volumes were needed for the thousand native pastors and teachers. "Ah, well," said the chief, "I mean to have one. Perhaps Missi Langham has forgotten how a man went to his friend at midnight and said, 'Lend me three loaves,' and his friend said, 'Do not trouble me'; but now I am going back to the missi (missionary), and I will ask him to give me a copy of the book, and if he will not,—well, I will go away. But I will go back again, and if he refuses me, I will go away again; and though he will not let me have it because I am his friend, and though he will not let me have a book for money—for I will pay him for it—yet because of my importunity he will be compelled to give me one."

In 1866 Mr Calvert was again in England to edit another edition of the New Testament, in the revision of which he had received remarkable help from Thakombau and a blind Fijian lad. At the anniversary in 1867 he was able to announce the completion of 3500 copies in octavo and 3000 in duodecimo. He related the astonishing advance of Christian civilisation, although much yet remained to be accomplished, for as late as 1865 one of the island chiefs had had five Christians killed for a feast of blood. He told of

the cry of a shipwrecked crew, who had drifted for twenty days, struck on a coral reef, and found a native house: "Here is a Bible! We shall be saved; thank God, we shall be saved!" About 100,000 Fijians were nominally Christian; 40,000 were regularly instructed in the mission schools; 17,000 were church members, and 5000 on trial for membership. There were 38 native missionaries, ordained or on trial for ordination; 1500 class leaders, 1000 catechists and local preachers, and 1200 school teachers.

The figures throw light on the frequent intercourse between the Bible House and the missionaries in Fiji in these and in subsequent years, when pressing requests and quick supplies appear to have been well-nigh incessant. Every fresh consignment seemed to awaken new eagerness. Even in the disastrous epidemic of measles which swept away 35,000—almost a third part of the population—in 1875, and which was represented by the heathen remnant as a visitation of the ancient gods for their acceptance of Christianity and British rule,[1] the faith of the people was unshaken. Native teachers and ministers alike were stricken, the missionaries were overworked, there was often no one to bury the dead. The people were unavoidably left in a great measure to themselves, and it was a blessed thing to know what strength and consolation they found in prayer and the reading of the Word of Life. "I am left here alone," said Akariva [Agrippa] the Tongan in the gloom of his poor hut; "all the others of this house have gone from me, and as I lie here alone I pray to Jesus, and keep on praying." In 1882 we read of people coming to Levuka from all the islands, climbing the green hill to the mission-house "in little companies, sometimes in tolerable crowds; bright-faced children to the number of a dozen, or five or six neatly-dressed women, or perhaps a small mob of plantation hands who have just

[1] Exasperated by the oppression of the French, Thakombau had ceded the islands to Great Britain and sent his club to Queen Victoria in 1874. Thakombau died in 1883, his wife Lydia in 1881.

finished their year's engagement and are going to their own part of the group again."

In the course of the thirty years the Society printed for them 5000 Bibles and nearly 50,000 Testaments, the last issue being a second edition of the Bible which Mr Calvert saw through the press in 1883-84. Doubtless the whole cost of production was defrayed. Mention is made of cocoa-nut oil and iron tanks for its storage, of remittances —£227, £192, £400— but no clear financial results are distinguishable.

One point more to speak of—the testimony, reported by the missionaries themselves, of scores of islanders who ascribed their conversion, not to the Word preached or taught, but to the Vola Tabu, "the Sacred Book," read by themselves in their own houses and in their own tongue.

In 1854 beat the great drum, "Crier of War," bidding men to a sacrilegious feast. In 1884 the murder-stone on which the heads of the victims were dashed had been hollowed into a baptismal font,[1] and only a greener grass marked the sites of the cannibal ovens.

[1] It stands now inside the communion rails of the Jubilee Church at Mbau, built in 1885 under the direction of Dr Langham.

CHAPTER XXXI

CORAL AND PALM (II.)

LONG and long ago, says the legend, the god Raho walked on the sea, bearing a basket of earth ; and when he had gone far sunsetward from Samoa, he shook the earth out, and straightway there was a lonely isle in the blue waters—Rotuma. One sees how small it must be, scarce a basketful ; and, from its divine soil, how full of fruit and flowers. And Fiji, in the south, lies 300 miles away.

Rotuma had been under the care of native teachers from the Samoan Mission up to 1845, when it was ceded to the Wesleyan Missionary Society ; but it is first noticed in the Report for 1869. The Rev. R. W. Fletcher had then been four years on the island, about a third of the population (less than 3000) had renounced idolatry, and the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and two Epistles, printed at Hobart, were in circulation.

A version of the New Testament, undertaken by Mr Fletcher and finished in spite of failing health, was produced at Sydney at the Society's expense in 1870. The edition of 2000 copies seems to have sufficed for the rest of the period. With the exception of a brief acknowledgment of £65, value of cocoa-nut oil and other merchandise received in payment, we hear no more until 1884, when a second edition (2000 copies) was printed under the care of Mr J. Calvert, and shortly afterwards the work — so far furthered at the Bible House—passed into the hands of the Australian Wesleyan Missionary Society.

During these thirty years the New Hebrides Auxiliary, which was the first, was still the sole Bible Society in the South Seas. One heard only now and then of its meetings —on board the mission-ship in Anelqauhat harbour—on Erromanga, within sight of the grassy mountain of the Gordon tragedy and of the very river which had been reddened with the blood of Williams and Harris; but annually the contributions were gathered, from the mission families, the agents of the trading houses, the officers and crew of the *Dayspring*. The total free gift for the period exceeded £758.

The *Dayspring* was another of the Children's Ships. No stranger can realise all that it meant in the life of the New Hebrides. When "white" provisions ran short in Aniwa, little folk woke up with questions about the *Day'ping*: "I think I shall be in my grave before the *Dayspring* comes!" was the prophetic sigh of the fever-wasted M'Nair on Erromanga; on more than one island "Missi the Woman" strained her eyes to catch a white speck of hope for the babe lying so sick and so far from a doctor; and when the "Vessel of the Worship" was wrecked, the native girls for weeks afterwards raised the wail of mourning before its picture.[1]

The work in this vast archipelago developed rapidly. In 1859 the entire population of Aneityum—3500—was under Christian instruction; 2000 were reading the Scriptures; and twenty native teachers had gone forth with their wives to Tanna and Aniwa, Fotuna and Erromanga and Faté—five islands, each speaking its own tongue, each signed with martyr's blood. In Erromanga and Tanna missionaries were stationed; and as the period advanced, the Reports told of more missionaries, more native evangelists, more islands, and of more languages in which the Society bore its part in providing the Word of Life.

[1] Mrs Paton, *Letters and Sketches from the New Hebrides, passim.*

To make the story clear, we revert to Aneityum. The cost of the Gospel of St Mark, the first portion printed in any language of Western Polynesia, was discharged by the Committee;[1] they furnished the paper on which Matthew, John, Jonah, three chapters of Revelation, the Acts, and ten of St Paul's Epistles were printed at the mission press; and in 1857 they themselves produced 4000 copies of Luke. At the end of 1859 the complete New Testament in MS. was on its way to England. During the seven months' homeward run through the island groups, Mr and Mrs Inglis and their native assistant laboured at the revision, which was finished at Woodbridge. The faithful William broke down under the severe strain, but efficient help was found in the scholarship of Mr Meller, who contributed nearly a thousand pages of criticisms and suggestions. An edition of 4000 copies was printed, and the volume was in circulation in 1863.

And in 1863, over many an acre in Aneityum, the New Testament broke into a living blossom which the dusky islanders had never seen before. It was of a straw colour in the morning, white at noon, pale pink in the evening, and a purplish pink in the next sunrise. To meet the expenditure on the books, Mr Inglis had succeeded in getting a Glasgow Company formed for the cultivation of cotton in the New Hebrides by Christian natives. Cotton-seed and implements had been sent out, and thus in due season came the changing flower and the silvery bolls "as white as snow"; in which things surely there was a similitude and a parable. In the New Hebrides, however, the system of distribution was peculiar to the archipelago. Paid for by contributions from the community as a whole, the Scriptures were not purchased by individuals but won as prizes for excellence in reading, which even the poorest might obtain. In 1868 the outlay on the first edition of

[1] Brought out in Sydney in 1853.—*See* vol. ii. p. 439.

the New Testament was cleared off; and the method, which stimulated zeal and industry, was yet more fully justified at a later time.

During "the three years of a thousand graves" (1864-67) Aneityum was tested by the fiery ordeal of disease and death. The strong men were smitten first, and then was heard the voice of Rachel weeping. Passing ships brought the epidemic; but there was no angry return to heathenism and the expiation of blood. On the contrary, faith, resignation; and a spontaneous good-will was shown in striking ways. When the second *John Williams* struck on a coral patch in 1866, the people hastened from all parts of the island, ill and enfeebled though many of them were. They dived, worked the pumps, unloaded the cargo, got her afloat after three days; and then shipped a crew of twenty-two volunteers in case of any emergency on the perilous three-weeks' voyage back to Sydney.[1] So too when the *Dayspring's* mast became unseaworthy. A high tree was felled and rough-hewn; every village sent its picked men; and in two hours the three hundred dragged it by sheer force from the mountain gorge to the shore—a gift of £50 to the "Vessel of the Worship." More remarkable still, perhaps, was the evidence that Christianity had redeemed that ancient and evil trait of heathenism—"without natural affection." The sick were nursed as they had never been nursed before; and the last moments of the dying were illumined by the promises of life eternal.

Meanwhile one portion of the Old Testament after another was issuing from the mission press, and in 1866 an edition of the Psalms, printed in Nova Scotia and paid for by the Society, was taken out to Aneityum by Dr Geddie. Four years later the Committee arranged that the first volume of the Old Testament should be produced in Melbourne under

[1] On the return voyage from Sydney the vessel was wrecked on Niué in January 1867.

his care; but in December 1872 "the father and founder of the Presbyterian Mission in the New Hebrides" was suddenly called to his rest.[1] Genesis, Exodus, and part of Leviticus had been completed, however, and these were put into circulation. At length, in 1877, eighteen years after the completion of the New Testament, Mr Inglis brought home the revised text of the Old, and with it a singular proof of the evangelical spirit of the people. From the sale of their cotton and arrowroot and other produce they had furnished him — and this was an experience unparalleled in the history of the Society—with £1200 to cover in advance the entire cost of the edition.[2]

Two thousand four hundred copies were printed in 1878-79; and both volumes—for it was produced in two—were welcomed with great joy in Aneityum. There was a brisk demand for "the eyes of glass" among the aged converts; and the last pair of spectacles—kissed again and again when it was found that "they suited"—went to poor old Natheare, whom Mrs Geddie had saved from being strangled in the early days of the mission.

There was a dark side to this cheering picture. For a number of years the South Seas had been cursed by the infamous labour traffic. The "thievish ships" had filled the minds of the natives with suspicions even of the Ships of the Lotu (Worship); and the cruel murder of Bishop Patteson proved what grave cause there was for anxiety. A more disastrous evil, one which threatened mission-work with extinction, was the French scheme for annexing the New Hebrides as a penal colony. In God's good time those troubles passed away, and while they lasted His blessing rested on the work. As the period closed, some part at least

[1] "It was possible to set this beautiful inscription on his grave: 'When he came to the island in 1848 there was not a single Christian; when he left it in 1872 there was not a single heathen.'"—Warneck, *History of Protestant Missions*, p. 331.

[2] What adds to the strangeness of the incident, the population had at this date declined to 1300.

of the Word of Life had been translated into nine languages; churches had been founded on eight islands; on twelve there were missionaries and native teachers; 8000 people worshipped in spirit and in truth; and among those who remained—between 70,000 and 100,000—many had burned their idols, built schools and churches where the idols stood, and "now waited crying for guides to lead them to Jesus."

Among those islands six concern us here.

In 1864 Mr Ella was appointed to Uvea, one of the Loyalty Islands lying to the south-west. The French authorities forbade him to land there, but far from being discouraged, the missionary-printer put in at Aneityum, set up his press, and issued on the Society's paper the first Portion in Erromangan. It was the Gospel of St Luke, translated by the Rev. G. N. Gordon, who was treacherously murdered in 1861.[1] The Rev. James Douglas Gordon took up the work of his martyred brother; translated Genesis, which was printed for the Society in Sydney, and St Matthew, of which an edition was sent out from the Bible House in 1869; and was engaged on the Acts when the end came. On the 7th March 1872, he was busy with the seventh chapter, the martyrdom of Stephen; the ink was still wet on the page at the words, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," when two natives came to the house, and suddenly, in the course of a few friendly words, the tomahawk of Nerimpou was buried in his brain. The savage had lost two children, and regarded him as the cause of their sickness and death.

The translation of the Acts into Erromangan was finished by the Rev. H. A. Robertson, a missionary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church; the Committee undertook the production of 1000 copies at Sydney; and before it left the press in 1880 it was paid for in money, clubs, spears, bows and

[1] Murray, *The Martyrs of Polynesia*, p. 101. The tragedy on the grassy mountain was due to the belief that the Gordons were to blame for the recent hurricane and outbreak of measles. Bishop Patteson, on his next visit, read the Burial Service over their graves beneath the palms on the bank of the memorable stream. In 1870 the widow of Kowiowi, the murderer of John Williams, was laid to rest beside them.

arrows, sandal-wood—anything that the people of Erromanga could give to be sold. In 1881 over twenty teachers, all natives of the island, were spreading the Gospel message; a large part of the population were under instruction; and a church had been built to the memory of the five martyrs. The corner-stone was laid by a son of the murderer of John Williams.

Lying at anchor off Erromanga in 1845, the mission-ship was boarded by the captain of a sandal-wood craft, who delivered a very unexpected message. He had come from Faté, the biggest island in a coral group sixty miles away to the north-westward. There he had been sought out by a Samoan named Sualo, a mighty fighting-man and "son-in-law" of one of the great chiefs. Sualo told him that long ago—twenty years, more or less—some fifty of them, Samoans and Tongans, had lost their reckoning at sea, and been driven to the New Hebrides. They had tried in vain to make their own islands, and at last had settled on Faté; but few of them now remained, and he begged the captain to get sent to them teachers of the Worship, of which they had heard. Thus began the mission in Faté, for the *John Williams* sailed to the beautiful lagoon of Erakor, and four Samoan evangelists were left;[1] but in the Reports no mention of the island occurs until 1866, when the Gospel of St Mark, the first Portion in the new tongue (Faté), left the press at Sydney. In 1868 the poor natives subscribed 30s. as a token of their thankfulness. The Gospel of St John followed in 1871; and in a little while we have a glimpse of the Efatese "trooping into their grass-woven church in the early Sabbath mornings, or gathering in their huts at night round the pile of blazing cocoa-nut shells to read 'the Good Word of Jesus Christ,'" and hear of one village publicly renouncing idolatry and of another receiving baptism. Genesis appeared in 1874 and the Acts in 1880. These were

[1] Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia.*

all in the Erakor dialect; but in 1877 a translation of St Luke was issued in the dialect spoken round the magnificent Havannah harbour, the resort of traders and the British warships; and in 1883, 1500 copies of Luke (revised) and Romans were printed at Melbourne. The outlay on these Portions was borne by the Society, but in the long run the islanders fully made good the expense by the sale of arrowroot, the use of which, though an excellent species grew wild amongst them, they now learned for the first time.

Thirty miles apart lie Fotuna and Tanna—Fotuna rising from the sea like a vision of Stirling Castle, Tanna lovely and luxuriant, though fissured and steaming with inner fires; and between the two Aniwa, lit at night from Tanna by the glow of the volcanic cone Yazur. Translations of St Mark in the three languages were announced as ready in 1868. That for Fotuna was printed at Sydney apparently at the Society's expense; and afterwards all four Gospels appeared with the Catechism and Hymn Book in a single volume, obviously without the concurrence of the Home Committee. Of the Tanna Gospel we have no record. But the system in Tanna was peculiar. No special fund was raised for the Scriptures. The Portions translated were printed at the island press, and given to those who did not fear that the books would bring upon them disease, or some other calamity. The Gospels of Matthew and Mark in Aniwa "came out" together in 1877, the Acts in 1880, and the Gospel of John with nine of the Epistles in 1882—all printed at Melbourne, paid for in arrowroot by the community as a whole, and circulated without charge. Mr Paton gave them maize and a well of sweet water, but in giving them St John he gave them a companion at their work, in their journeys, on their fishing expeditions, and a peacemaker. During a great quarrel on Aniwa which threatened to end in bloodshed, he pointed out a passage to be read to the assembly. "Now you have heard," said the chief; "this is what God says to us. His

Word ought to settle all disputes among us now. Let us follow Christ's teaching." And the crisis passed.

In 1881 Nguna was marked for the first time on the map at the Bible House; but the Rev. Peter Milne, his wife and two Raratongan teachers had been labouring there for ten years or more. From the hill behind the mission-house could be numbered thirteen islands—church and school on three of them, with the shores of Faté on the south, a six miles' swim away. There were a thousand inhabitants on Nguna, but the language was far-scattered, would carry a speaker through a population seven or eight times as numerous. It was spoken on the nearer side of Faté, and as far north as Tongoa, the largest of the five Shepherd Isles, where his colleague, the Rev. Oscar Michelsen, settled in 1879. Mr Milne had translated Matthew and John, and the Committee at once printed 2000 copies. In 1883 came the payment for the first 500—three casks of arrowroot, value £27.

"I know the true God!" The cry came from a strange shore in the twilight of an unknown sea. They had made the island in the April morning. All the forenoon they sailed along the coast, opening lowland slopes, sandy beaches, masses of pine-wood, illusive towers and battlements of coral; but no sign of natives met their anxious outlook. In the afternoon a boat was lowered, and they followed the land until the gloaming fell. They had almost agreed that the island was desert, when a light gleamed out in the dusk. It belonged to a canoe; and as they pulled within hail, they saw a dark figure rise, and across the water rang the thrilling words: "Ua ou iloa le Atua moni!" ["I know the true God!"] The stranger was a Tongan islander who had lost his way at sea many years before. He became Mr Murray's interpreter and guide;

and thus, by what seemed a special providence, the first teachers—two Samoans—were settled on Maré in 1841.[1]

Maré or Nengone, Lifu, and Uvea are the principal islands of the Loyalty group, lying between New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, and these now formed another field for the activity of the London Missionary Society. The Rev. S. M. Creagh and the Rev. J. Jones took up their residence on Maré in 1854; a printing-press was set up; large supplies of paper were provided by the Committee; and in 1856 the Gospel of St Mark, the first Maré Portion, was in circulation.[2] Hundreds had been taught to read by the Samoa evangelists, and "in almost every hut, or seated on the grass outside, the natives might have been seen trying to spell out the 'Word,' as they called it." The Four Gospels and the Acts had been printed by 1861, and though the island was unfruitful and the people had to work hard for their food, they readily accepted the proposal that free distribution should cease. In 1865, amid great rejoicings and commemorative services, the first island edition of the New Testament appeared. The text was carefully revised, and three years later Mr Jones returned with it to England, and the Committee published an edition in 1870.

Alongside this record of progress there ran a darker narrative; and to understand the trials and dangers of the outnumbered Christian tribes in the fifties and early sixties, one must turn to the martyr-story of Maré, with its ambuscades, ruthless murders, and horrible feasts.[3] In 1864 Rome asserted its claims with the unscrupulous tyranny which has ever marked its days of power. Under the order of the French authorities the schools were closed, the native teachers were silenced, the missionaries themselves were

[1] Murray, *The Bible in the Pacific*, p. 191.

[2] The first four chapters (printed in Auckland before the coming of the missionaries) were translated, with the help of the teachers, by the Rev. W. Nihill of the Melanesian Mission, who had been left on Maré for the benefit of his health, and who died there shortly afterwards.

[3] Murray, *The Martyrs of Polynesia*, pp. 158-176.

forbidden to preach. "They are now detaining us here as prisoners," wrote Mr Creagh. "No one of us can leave unless he does not care to return. They compel us to repurchase from themselves the ground which we have already bought of the natives; and after a residence of more than ten years on the island, we are requested to apply for a *carte de résidence*." Again in 1869 Mr Creagh sent tidings of fresh perils and anxieties. "Heathenism and Popery," he wrote, "are allied against the spread of God's Word. The two priests on this island do not cease their endeavours to create discord and even war between the Christian and heathen tribes. On several occasions within the last three or four years we have been on the very verge of an outbreak." A few months later war did break out, and all the tribes in Maré were involved. The French priests charged Mr Creagh with being the cause. "In April 1870 a commission was appointed by the French Governor to make an investigation respecting this charge. The commission entirely exonerated Mr Creagh, and the blame was fixed on the French Romish priests."[1]

In October 1870, 2000 New Testaments of the home edition reached Maré. The first case containing the beautiful gilt-edged copies in morocco was quickly emptied, and a second had to be opened; but the good Fathers had devised a subtle scheme for checking the progress of truth. "They persuaded their converts and many heathens into the belief that the Protestants intended to massacre them all. False representations were made to the Governor of New Caledonia, who had just arrived from France and was easily deceived, and in reply a steamer was sent to the island to be at the disposal of the priests. Over nine hundred persons, men, women, and children, were by this means deported to the Isle of Pines,—a most unheard-of thing!"

Mr Creagh removed to Lifu in 1871, and left to Mr Jones

[1] Whitehouse, *The London Missionary Society's Register of Missionaries*, p. 178.

the task of continuing the Maré Old Testament version, of which Genesis and Exodus had already been issued from the mission press. He and his colleague revised a translation of the Psalms on Maré, and in 1876 Mr Creagh brought the MS. home, and the Committee printed in 1877 2000 copies under his editorship.

The closing years of the period seem to have been uneventful, but in the policy of the French authorities and the fanaticism of the priesthood a perilous storm was gathering.

On the central island, Lifu, the largest and most populous of the Loyalties, Raratongan teachers were stationed as early as 1842. The opening chapter of St John, translated by the Rev. W. Nihill in 1855, was printed at the Maré press. In 1857 Lifu was nominally Christian—"an inviting field for the French priests, who were doing little or nothing on the Isle of Pines and New Hebrides." In 1858 the inviting field was occupied by two of the French priests. In 1859 the first Gospel in Lifu, St Mark, translated by "Mr J. C. Patteson, son of Judge Patteson" (at that time Bishop Selwyn's chaplain; afterwards his beloved successor), was printed at Auckland; and in October that year the first English missionaries, the Revs. Samuel Macfarlane and William Baker, entered on the charge of the work. Within three years another Gospel, St Matthew, was ready, and 4000 copies were printed on Maré. In 1864 the French flag was hoisted, and beneath its folds the blighting policy of Rome was pursued with brutal rigour. Schools were closed, books (unless French) forbidden, preachers silenced. The Samoan and Raratongan evangelists were put into irons, bound with ropes. Food was placed beside them as they lay helpless on their faces, with their hands tied behind their backs. Five days they were kept on board ship, separated from their wives and children, who were detained on another vessel. When they were liberated it was on the express

condition that they should leave by the first mission-ship; found after that, they were to be shot.

Here, as in Madagascar, the Word of God manifested its power against the oppression of man. The people taught each other to read; they assembled as usual on Sundays to pray and to exhort one another. "Every effort was made to change their religion, in order to stamp out English influence." The priests sought to proselytise, to buy up the books. They did not succeed in making a convert, or in purchasing a copy. And the books themselves were multiplied, until the New Testament, on which Mr Macfarlane had laboured for seven years, was finished in 1868, and Mr Sleigh's version of the Psalms left the island press in 1870.

In that year Mr Macfarlane was appointed to New Guinea, and during his furlough in 1872 he edited for the Committee their first edition (4000 copies) of the Lifu New Testament and Psalms (1873). The volume was received with delight by men who valued so highly their Tusi Hmitöt ("Sacred Book") that they journeyed twenty miles to listen to verbal instruction and to copy explanatory and practical notes; and the first year's receipts—for gratis distribution now ceased—amounted to the large sum of £288.

Four thousand copies of the Pentateuch, translated by Messrs Creagh and Sleigh, were printed by the Committee in 1877.[1] They were seen through the press by Mr Creagh, who returned to Lifu with five other books and part of a sixth which he had added to the version during his stay. On the 1st January 1884 he wrote to the Committee: "All the books of the Old Testament, as well as of the New, are now translated. All the unprinted parts are revised. We may have the complete Bible with marginal references and, as I hope, maps ready for the printer within the next two years."

Uvea—the beautiful double-island with its large blue

[1] The price of the Pentateuch was 3s. 2d.; and the Pentateuch, New Testament, and Psalms, in one volume, sold rapidly at 4s. 10d.

lagoon encircled by twenty coral gardens embowered in cocoa-nut palms! As one pictures it, the words spring to the lips: "O Religion, what things are done in thy name!" For the story of Uvea is a shameful story of broken faith, of priestly menace and provocation, of violence and incendiarism, of persecution, confiscation, and massacre.[1] Evangelists were sent over from Maré in 1856; in 1857 two French priests arrived. The pioneers of the Gospel were denounced as the unauthorised teachers of a false religion; tribal hatred was rekindled in the cause of the Holy Faith; French war steamers and French troops were summoned to exterminate Protestantism in the slaughter of "guilty" natives and at the stake of burning villages. In 1864 the *Dayspring* was warned off, and Mr Ella was forbidden to land. Indignant protests were raised in the English and Australian press, and in December that year he was granted the right to settle as a British resident. Public feeling, however, found expression in an influential memorial to the Emperor of the French. "I am writing," his Majesty replied, "to censure any measure which would impose restraint upon the free exercise of your ministry;" and in the following April Ella was allowed to officiate as a Protestant missionary.

The most pressing need of Uvea was now the written Word. The new language—Iaian, as it was then called[2]—was reduced to writing, and a school primer was issued. But the fury of Rome burst forth at this first step in "the work of the devil." The day schools were closed under the edict prescribing French as the only educational tongue; indeed the church itself—on the plea that it was being used for teaching—was stormed during the celebration of the Lord's Supper by native adherents of the priests. Nevertheless the Protestants, old and young, learned to read.

[1] *See* Macfarlane's *Story of the Lifu Mission.*

[2] Iaian, the language of daily intercourse, was the tongue of the original Papuan stock of Iai. Newcomers from the eastern Uvea (Wallis I.) of the Tongan archipelago brought their own speech, and gave the double-island the name of their early home. Eventually Uvea and Uvean took the place of the old names Iai and Iaian.

To their delight a part of St Matthew and a few Psalms were translated in 1867, and the first complete Gospel—St Luke—appeared in 1868. Cheered by letters from the Bible House and aided by the books of reference sent out to facilitate his laborious task, the undaunted missionary had printed the Acts and the three other Gospels when, in November 1871, he was obliged to seek a change on account of Mrs Ella's failing health. It was an unhappy necessity, which left the Protestant community without the protection of an English missionary.

In the Library at the Bible House may be seen a copy of the Uvean Gospel of St Matthew. It is stained with blood; the corners of its leaves are shorn away by the stroke of an axe. It was the hour of family worship, and the owner was reading a chapter of the Word of Life when his assassins slew him with their tomahawks. That sacred memorial indicates the character of the murderous plots of 1872 and 1873, which at last aroused the French authorities to some measure of justice. An inquiry was held, the chief Whenegay, son of Whenegay who had welcomed the teachers from Maré, was reinstated in his position, and twenty-four of the Papist aggressors were deported to Noumea. Strangely enough, in these days of terrorism and bloodshed, the people found special help and comfort from the Lifu translation of the Psalms, which a number among them were able to read; and those who were compelled to renounce their faith "under the clubs and tomahawks of their Popish neighbours" still clung to their books, and met in the depths of the bush or in caves on the sea-coast to read, to weep over their unhappy lot, and to pray for their deliverance.

The completion of the New Testament which Mr Ella had so long had at heart was at length realised. The final revision was made with the help of a Uvean chief who sailed to Sydney for the purpose,[1] and there a volume

[1] The priests did all in their power to prevent his voyage, "but as the French

containing the Epistles and Revelation was printed in 1878. The translation of the Psalms was next finished, and Mr Ella, who had withdrawn from missionary work, once more visited Uvea to revise his MS. He worked from six in the morning until sundown (nearly six in the evening) with twelve "pundits," who sat in relays of three during the long hours of constant application. "Missi [Missionary]," said one, an old church member, "let them quickly print this book that I may have it to read before I die." It left the press at Sydney in 1880.[1]

During the wars which preceded the coming of the Maré teachers the remnants of a powerful tribe fled to New Caledonia, and in that island two Iaian tribes sprang from the survivors. Every attempt, however, to give them the Scriptures in their own language was frustrated by the French officials. In the last years of the period some success, on the other hand, appears to have rewarded the efforts of Mr G. Wright, a private friend, to distribute the French Bible among the troops and French inhabitants. In 1881 the English residents at Noumea, the capital, obtained a Protestant minister, and two native evangelists were sent at their own request from Uvea to carry the message of salvation to their exiled tribesmen.

In 1883 the Committee undertook a large edition (4000 copies) of the Uvean Gospels and Acts, revised by the Rev. J. Hadfield. For a time the work of translation was suspended, but in their eagerness to possess the Old Testament many of the young people had acquired the Lifu tongue.

It was not in these native versions alone that the Society laboured to spread the tidings of salvation. To the various island groups, especially to Aneityum, supplies of the Scriptures were sent out in English, French, Chinese, and other tongues. On the day that there shall be no more sea

Governor of New Caledonia had not been appointed by the Ultramontane party, he only smiled at the objections which were raised."

[1] The Uvean Scriptures were all issued on paper provided by the Society, which also bore the cost of the printing done at Sydney.

we shall know what hearts they touched among the nomads and adventurers, the gold-seekers, the whalers, the traders and sailors of many nationalities who frequented these remote waters.

During the thirty years of the period the Society printed 222,868 copies of Scripture[1] in fourteen of the languages of the South Seas—the entire Bible, for the first time, in Samoan, Tongan, Fiji, and Aneityum; the New Testament, for the first time, in Niué, Rotuman, Maré, Lifu, and Uvean; Portions, for the first time, in Erromangan, Faté, and Ngunese. The expenditure on these editions cannot now be ascertained, but, as we have seen, it must have been nearly, if not completely, covered by the sale receipts, which amounted in the aggregate to £20,636, and maintained in the last ten years the high average of £992 per annum. Beyond this there was an outlay of £5600 solely for translation and revision,[2] while £1916 was spent on paper and binding materials for the island editions and for printing in the colonies.

In this brief sketch of the Society's work, interwoven so closely with the mission story of Polynesia, one point has been omitted. These islands were redeemed, as the people knew, by Christian tears not less than by Christian blood. "You yourselves may go away, missi, and leave us; but you can't rob us of the Little Ones in the graves. These two are ours; they belong to the people of Aniwa; and they will rise with the Aniwans on the great Resurrection Day, and they will go with us to meet with Jesus in His glory."[3] Were blood and tears and treasure too great a price to pay for the regenerated natures, for the new-born hearts, which found expression in that cry of sorrowful tenderness and exultation?

[1] 76,532 Bibles, 93,274 Testaments, 2000 copies of the Pentateuch, and 51,062 New and Old Testament Portions.

[2] The following sums were spent on the versions: Fiji, £1630; Aneityum, £1200; Samoan, £1150; Tongan, £500; Tahiti, £450; Niué, £225; Rotuman, £200; Raratongan, £145; Maré, £100.

[3] Mrs Paton, *Letters and Sketches from the New Hebrides*, p. 354.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE PASSING OF THE MAORI

In February 1856 "a traveller from New Zealand," who no doubt had gazed from the unbroken arches of London Bridge on the towering grandeur of St Paul's, visited the old Bible House in Earl Street. He was introduced to the Committee by the Rev. R. Taylor of Wanganui—"my missionary"; and it must have been a pleasant incident to welcome Hoani Wiremu Hipango, the chief of the Maori tribe, who, through a single page of the Catechism containing the Ten Commandments, had heard and obeyed the Voice from Sinai bidding them burn their graven images and hallow the day of God's rest. A supply of Scriptures in his own tongue was placed at the disposal of the young chief, who expressed his thanks in a letter to his "fathers in the Lord Jesus":—

"Your books have come to me, and your love; for they are a true sign of your love to me. Great was the joy of my heart at seeing your books. . . . My fathers, you have not hidden the Word of God in a corner, but have held it up for all places of the world. Therefore my desire was this: that I might see you, the Chiefs who print the Bibles, so that I may think when I return to my own place in New Zealand—'I have seen your eyes, the Chiefs who print the Bibles!' . . . Now that I have seen you, the printers of the Bible of God, I am going away happy on my return. The Bible is a tree; I have put forth the hands of my heart, and I have gathered the fruit into my heart; and the Spirit of God, which He gives, sanctifies the things in the hearts which are loving unto Him."

So Hoani Wiremu returned to the Long White Cloud.[1] He would fain have entered holy orders, but an affection of

[1] *Ao-tea-roa*, the name given to the snow-peaked North Island by the primitive adventurers in the great canoes *Shark* and *Flood-tide*.

the eyes compelled him to abandon his studies at Auckland, and he was afterwards appointed to a position of trust among his own people. There, in the picturesque semi-tropical country about the Wanganui River, we shall see him again, for the last time.

In 1856 the Committee had just brought out an edition of Judges–Psalms, the second section of the Rev. R. Maunsell's Maori version of the Old Testament. In New Zealand the Auckland Auxiliary was raising a special fund of £300 to defray the cost of printing on the spot the third and last section, Proverbs–Malachi. The Committee co-operated with a grant of 100 reams of paper, and in 1856 the task was completed, to the great joy of the people. "Formerly we only heard of God's Word," said Kairapu; "year after year we heard of it; now we see it; now we shall soon have the whole of it through the kindness of this Society." "At the first we were foolish," said another: "we called biscuit pumice-stone; sugar we called sand; tobacco, rope. God we knew not, nor His truth. Now we have the Bible, and know the true teachings of Christianity." "Let us show our love by giving our mite to the Lord's work," suggested Hori Taurao." "Yes," rejoined the monitor of Kohanga, "and I will say to you, as the chiefs used to say when they wanted food carried for a war expedition—'Friend, make your heart strong as the green jade-stone; the food is for you as well as for me.' So I ask you for money; do not withhold it; the Word of God is for yourselves as well as for others." "When there is no cheerer in the canoe," said Paori Katuhi, making another appeal to tribal recollections, "the canoe goes slowly, but when the cheerers stand up and urge on the crew, the canoe flies. Now you have plenty of cheerers, pull heartily, and bring this Society to the haven." In this quaint fashion an Association was formed, and over £9 was collected before the meeting closed.

In 1857 a board of revision, which met in June, sat five

hours daily (Saturdays excepted) for about three months; the corrected section, with a contribution of £100 towards expenses from the Auckland Auxiliary, was despatched to the Bible House; and in the following spring the Committee, who had presented Mr Maunsell with £100 as a slight recognition of his splendid service, undertook an edition of 5000 copies. The work was seen through the press by the first Bishop of Wellington (Dr Abraham) before he sailed for his diocese, and the version-list for 1859 contained the last twenty books of the Maori Scriptures.

With a view to an integral edition, the revision of the earlier sections, Genesis–Joshua and Judges–Psalms, was taken up in the autumn of 1859. In 1862 the revised copy was brought home by the son of the translator (then Archdeacon of Wakaito), and printing began under the editorial care of Mr Maunsell and Mr Meller; but long delays occurred through the transmission of the sheets to and from New Zealand, and it was not until 1868 that the final proofs were read by Bishop Selwyn at Lichfield, and the first Maori Bible in one volume left the press.

Meanwhile, as to the work of distribution, the friends at Auckland were busy, though the Auxiliaries at Wellington and Nelson had fallen into temporary inactivity; attempts at house-to-house colportage were made among natives and settlers in the outlying districts; there were depôts at the Bay of Islands and at New Plymouth, where prosperous homesteads had sprung up among the peach-orchards and grassy fields under the shining snow-cap of Mount Egmont. Notwithstanding the heavy expense of transit[1] the mission stations were supplied with the Scriptures, and stocks were held by correspondents, booksellers, and storekeepers. One heard of ready sales of the new Maori books; tribesmen still came fifty or a hundred miles for the Word of God;

[1] From Wellington to Papawai, fifty miles away, carriage cost half as much again as the freight from London.

Maori children in the mission schools had never been more numerous. Yet there was everywhere a sense of unrest and of change from the eager spirit and the simple fervour of the early mission days. Something was due to the vices of civilisation, the evil example of many of the colonists, the influence of the French priests with their charges of a Bible stolen, falsified, and sold for gain; but the chief cause of disquiet and doubt lay deeper and was much more dangerous than these.

In 1840, when the treaty of Waitangi transferred the sovereignty of the Islands to the Queen and guaranteed the Maori chiefs exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands, there were barely 4000 European settlers. Year after year sail, and then steam, brought more colonists, wild for fortune, hungry for the virgin soil. In 1854 the newcomers were estimated at 20,000, but still fresh contingents landed, until in 1860 their number exceeded 84,000. By 1855 the chiefs had sold—"for an old song"—the whole of the South Island below the brooding mountain ridges so strangely named Kaikouras, the Lookers-on; and in the North Island, which now contained nearly the entire Maori population, great tracts of country were made over with the same barbaric open-handedness.[1] But the continuous influx of strangers and the impatient clamour for land alarmed the chiefs. They foresaw their race outnumbered and overborne by this endless white immigration. Several of the tribes joined in a league against the further sale of land; to weld the league together the powerful Waikato leaders decided to choose a king. There was no thought of disaffection or disloyalty. When the blind old warrior Te Whero Whero was proclaimed in 1857, the Union Jack floated side by side with the cross and three stars of the royal flag. Wiremu Tamihana, the master-spirit of the

[1] All the Auckland territory went at 4d. an acre, and a million acres at Napier at 1¾d.

latter movement, was a Christian, a man of high character and wide views, whose object was to preserve his people from the fatal contact of our own.[1] The "King Country" was ring-fenced with an *autaki* which excluded white settlers and the Queen's writ. When the Waitara land-dispute started the series of disastrous wars which began in 1860, it was natural that volunteers from the "King Country" should assist the insurgent tribes, and inevitable that the English commander should seize the chance of breaking the power of the Waikato federation. Under the influence of their veteran missionaries a great part of the Maori population remained quiet; in the south-west the tribes openly sided with the Government. Throughout the struggle the insurgents never forgot that they were Christians; "they prayed and read the Scriptures before fighting, and regularly kept their Sunday services"; they were convinced of the justice of their cause, and their appeal was to the Eternal Righteousness in the heavens. But they were keenly touched by the appearance of some of their friends and teachers as chaplains to the troops, and the effects of that apparent defection may have been more serious than we can now trace.

In 1864, however, peace was in sight, several of the tribes had submitted, and the King party had retired to their fastnesses, when war broke out afresh through the rising of the Hau-haus. A number of the Maoris had burned their Bibles, cast off the faith of their teachers, and made themselves a new religion, in which fetich-worship and the horrors of their old heathenism were grotesquely and tragically mingled with misinterpretations of the Old Testament and ideas derived from the French priests. Barking like dogs (whence their name, Hau-hau), dancing themselves into frenzy, hankering for the flesh-pots of the cannibal,

[1] Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud*, chaps. xv.-xvii. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. ii. pp. 624-640.

carrying about with them the dried heads of their enemies, which they used as teraphim for sorcery and divination, plundering, killing, inciting the loyal tribes to outrage and massacre, they swept over the country. They had been maddened by defeat and the confiscation of their lands, but it was chiefly a bitter resentment of lost ideals, a passionate sense of desertion, a revulsion from unbounded trust and reverence, which wreaked themselves in this savage outburst. Hau-hauism or Pai Marire, as Bishop Selwyn believed, was the despairing expression "of an utter want of faith in everything English, clergy and all alike." "We owe our downfall," said an old Maori many years afterwards, "to the preaching of the whakapono (Christianity). At one time we were strong and well versed in the art of warfare. The missionary came and taught us to look up to heaven. We dropped our weapons, and looked up. While our attention was fixed on things above, the Government were scratching away the land from under our feet."[1]

The great chiefs held aloof from the movement, but the fanatics who joined it made a formidable horde. More than once the friendly natives of Wanganui beat them back. They returned in February 1865. Miles away, the English troops awaited reinforcements. A loyal chief took the field. Twice he captured parties lying in ambush to slay him, fed them, and set them free; "I will not be the first to shed blood." On the 23rd the Hau-haus attacked in force, and were utterly routed; but the loyal chief fell mortally wounded in the moment of victory. He died the next morning; the white men he had saved carried his body to its resting-place, and he was buried with military honours — Hoani Wiremu Hipango ("I have put forth the hands of my heart, and I have gathered the fruit of the Bible unto my heart").

Through the sombre tissue of war, apostasy, madness,

[1] *Church Missionary Society Report*, 1901, p. 495.

ran the golden thread of the grace of the Gospel. Ascending the Wanganui River some months later, after another Hau-hau defeat, "my missionary" found that the loyal Maoris shrank from approaching the Lord's Table with blood-stained hands. They were troubled, too, by the thought of how the Hau-haus, slain in fight, had been despoiled of ear-ornaments and other belongings, not by them but by their own Popish allies, and proposed to rebuild Hoani's church as a memorial of him and as a token to God of their sorrow for these things.

In March 1865 the "mad dogs" appeared at Opotiki on the Bay of Plenty, where they were joined by the local tribe, already inflamed by letters which a French priest had brought from the Hau-hau leaders. The kindly German missionary, Karl Volckner, was betrayed by his own people. He was given time for prayer; then, when he had shaken hands with his murderers, he was hanged on the willow-tree under which he had knelt, and was hacked to pieces.

On hearing of that atrocity Wiremu Tamihana, "the King-maker," severed his connection with the insurgents and surrendered to the Governor. He was received with honour, and sent back to his people. A little before his death in December 1866 he was carried to a place where the whole of his tribe might assemble to see him, and each time the litter was raised the prayer ascended: "Almighty God, we beseech Thee give strength to Wiremu Tamihana while we remove him from this place. If it please Thee, restore him again to perfect strength; if that is not Thy will, take him, we beseech Thee, to heaven." On the 28th he passed away, with the Bible in his hands.

The west coast was once more ablaze in 1868, and the venerable Wesleyan missionary, John Whitely, with a number of Europeans including women and children, was massacred by the Hau-haus. A few months later the notorious Te Kooti escaped from Chatham Island and avenged himself on the settlers at Poverty Bay. With his

flight into the "King Country" in 1870 the Maori wars ended.

During this troubled interval a colporteur visited the military camps, missionaries were at work among the loyal tribes; between 15,000 and 16,000 copies, including versions in nineteen languages, were circulated from the Auckland depôt; but the plans for extension through new Branches and Bible stores had to be postponed, and the free contributions reduced to meet local expenses. Among the hostile tribes little or nothing could be done.

In 1864 the Rev. H. H. Lawry, who had been present at the founding of the Auckland Auxiliary, became honorary secretary, and for the next forty years the Society's affairs in the northern districts of the island remained under his guidance. In 1864, also, the seat of government was transferred to Wellington, and the Auxiliary there was revived, but it never realised the activity or co-operative helpfulness expected from its position in the capital of the colony.

On the other hand, there was a gladdening stir of life in the South Island. Christchurch had been little more than a decade in existence when, on 4th May 1862, the Canterbury Auxiliary was founded by the Rev. T. R. Fisher of the Wesleyan Missionary Society. There was a crowded meeting, attended by clerics of all denominations; a most influential committee was appointed; consignments of Scripture in Maori and other languages were shipped from the Bible House. Within a year or two Branches were formed at Lyttelton, Rangiora, Kaiapoi, and, away beyond the mountains, at Hokitika on the Westland coast; colporteurs went out to distant farms and sheep-stations, and depôts were opened at the gold-mines and coal-fields. From 1864 onwards, in depression or prosperity, Christchurch was a regular and generous contributor to the free income of the Society. In 1865, at Dunedin, the Otago Bible Society was formed, as an independent organisation, to support both the

great British Societies, and, after a brief period of embarrassment, became a staunch associate to each of them.

The arrival of the Maori Bible in 1869 was eagerly welcomed at Auckland by many purchasers, and, as usual, the most costly volumes were most in request. Up to this date the Society had printed 119,000 copies of Scripture in Maori at an outlay exceeding £6000, and a very large proportion of these had been given away. It was agreed that the time had now come when the books should be distributed at a reasonable price, and though many found a ready protest in the phrase "without money and without price," 1538 Bibles and a large number of New Testaments and Portions were bought in the next nine years.

Now that peace was restored, more active efforts were made to reach the native population. In a little while they showed a greater desire to possess the Word of God; it became common to see the Bible on the table or chest in Maori houses; even among the Hau-haus it was observed that much of the heathenish ritual was dropped, and its place taken by the Psalms or some other passage of Scripture.

Then, almost suddenly, one became aware that the whole aspect of New Zealand and of the Society's work had altered. The "Long White Cloud" was rapidly changing into the "Brighter Britain." The South Island stood out in clear landscape, with English towns glittering on bay and inlet, numberless settlements, great tracts of corn, sheep-runs, cattle pastures, collieries, gold-fields. Blackbirds and thrushes in the gardens, sweetbriar in the hedges,[1] trout in the streams, starlings on the sheep moors were all bits of "the old country." The white population, which numbered 190,000 in 1865, grew to 310,000 in 1874, to 485,000 in 1881. The Maori tribes—estimated at 107,000 at the date of the treaty—had then dwindled to 45,000.

[1] The "missionary plant" of the Maoris, introduced by the home-sick wife of one of the early missionaries.

At the beginning of 1872 Mr Backhouse came over from South Australia as the first direct representative of the Committee in New Zealand. Here, as elsewhere, the magnetic effect of immediate personal contact with the great Parent Society was instantaneous. His visits were repeated in 1874 and 1876; in 1879, 1880 and 1881 the work was continued by his successor, Mr Evans; and upon the resignation of the latter in 1882 an enthusiastic advocate was found in the Rev. W. G. Baker, for eleven years a Church Missionary Society missionary in India. On all sides and among all denominations fresh sympathy, energy, and liberality were aroused by lectures, sermons, conferences, great gatherings of children, and a wide distribution of the Society's literature. New places were visited, considerable sums were collected, the Auxiliary system was strengthened, colportage extended. The aims of the Society were readily supported by the Primate and the Bishops, and by men of position like Sir George Grey, Sir George Arney, Sir James Fergusson, and the Marquis of Normanby, whose first public meeting in New Zealand was the annual gathering of the Wellington Auxiliary.

At Christchurch in 1872 there was some attack ("the enemy of souls taking the form of an angel of light") on the principles of the Society—a matter quite beyond clear discernment now; but the Canterbury Auxiliary flourished unscathed. In 1875 its founder, Mr Fisher, retired after twelve years' service as secretary, and lived to give a helping hand to the work in China; subsequently new Branches sprang up—Timaru, Oxford, Temuka, Waimate — and the free contributions became the largest in the colony. Greymouth Auxiliary, which took over the Branch at Hokitika, was formed in 1873; the Hawkes Bay Auxiliary at Napier in 1874, with Bishop Williams as president. To the latter year belong the Southland Auxiliary, with three Branches, established at Invercargill, and a group of six

The Rev. C. E. B. Reed.

Associations around Dunedin, but these appear to have been merged almost immediately in the Otago Bible Society. Wanganui, with its memories of Hau-hau defeats and Christian warriors, had its Auxiliary in 1876; it was now a thriving town with a splendid iron bridge spanning the historic river.

In the north Auckland sent out its colporteurs to the native villages, the scattered settlements, the Thames gold-mines, the navvies on the Waikato line, the saw-mills, the diggers who unearthed the fossil gum of the Kauri pine buried in the soil of vanished forests. Afterwards Branches were founded at Thames, Otahuhu, Onehunga, Cambridge (Waikato), Tauranga, and Opotiki. In later years the yearly circulation averaged between 3000 and 4000 copies, the greater part of which was in English. Still the Maori Scriptures were in increasing demand, and near the East Cape some of the native churches clubbed together to plant patches of maize, the proceeds of which went to the purchase of the Word of God. The Hau-hau superstition still held many estranged, and among the Maoris of Taranaki hostility to Christianity was kept on edge by Te Whiti, "the Messiah for the lost tribes of Israel," with whom they identified themselves; but in 1882, during a visit to Auckland of the "Maori King" and the chiefs so long in hostility, Tawhiao cordially accepted a Bible from the Auxiliary.

As to the Maori version, Archdeacon Maunsell prepared chapter headings, which were published in a separate form in 1875 for the benefit of native teachers and students; and in 1884 he and Archdeacon W. L. Williams, afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, were revising the text for another edition of the Bible.

As the period closed the Auckland Auxiliary was strengthened by a new Branch, the story of which carried one back to the Society's early work in the Highland glens

and the Western Isles. It was two years after Waterloo that Norman M'Leod, then about the age of thirty-four, sailed for the New World. He settled among the sturdy Highland colonists in Nova Scotia, was ordained at Ohio to the Presbyterian ministry, became their pastor, friend and counsellor, and was the leading spirit in the migration which gave them a new home at St Ann, Cape Breton. There we find him president and secretary of a small branch society from 1842 to 1852.[1] The worthy minister was verging on three score and ten when he and his people resolved to seek for a kindlier land on the opposite side of the planet. They built their own ship, the *Margaret*, a barque of five hundred tons, navigated it themselves, made first for South Australia, then for Victoria, and finally, by the advice of Sir George Grey, moved on to New Zealand. On the 1st September 1854 they landed in the wide strath of Waipu, sloping down to the eastern sea somewhat north of the Little and Great Barrier Islands.

Money was not plentiful among them, but they must have contributed to Bible-work almost from their landing, though the first separate entry—nearly £32—belongs to 1861-62. In that year, when the Auckland secretary, the Rev. J. Harding, visited them and took the services, the old minister, then over eighty, rode twelve miles through the rain to another part of his "parish," preached at nine that evening (Saturday), four times the next day, and again on Monday before returning, and each sermon lasted for more than an hour. For many months before his death, in 1866, the patriarch was bedridden, but his people stood affectionately at his window, so that "when dying he preached more than when living." Angus Morrison, whose name is first mentioned in the Report for 1868, appears to have been for many years the secretary of the Waipu Bible committee. On his death

[1] His successor, William Ross, held office till 1884. For the Cape Breton Highlanders, *see* vol. ii. pp. 58, 334.

in 1883 Neil Campbell succeeded, and in memory of their beloved minister the "M'Leod" folk formed themselves into the M'Leod Branch, with sections of their committee at Waipu, Kaurihohore, and Whangarei Heads. But the story does not end here.

There is no record of the actual circulation of the Scriptures in New Zealand during these thirty years. Of Bibles, Testaments and Portions in Maori 22,690 copies were printed. In 1884 there were eight Auxiliaries with nineteen Branches, and these remitted £8052 in free contributions, and £10,284 on purchase account. The receipts from Canterbury amounted to £6719 (£3549 free); from Auckland, £5996 (£1272 free); from Wellington, £954 (£295 free). The gifts of the Highland settlers at Waipu came to £1543. The Otago Bible Society gave £816, and purchased to the extent of £355=£1171. £1239 from correspondents brought the total receipts up to £19,575. The direct expenditure of the Society cannot be separated from the Australian account.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SIX COLONIES

In 1855 the Australian Colonies were still in the stir and excitement of the rush for gold,[1] but on every side the Jubilee envoys of the Society met with eager co-operation and the most friendly attention. The first conference of the Australian Wesleyan Church at Sydney and the convention of Congregational ministers at Melbourne wished the visitors God-speed; and on the 25th June the Governor-General, Sir William Denison, and Bishop Barker, a Vice-President of the Society, gave them an enthusiastic public welcome to the capital of New South Wales.

For the first time "the greater England of the antipodes" was viewed, as it were, through the eyes of the Committee. No bush-ranger appeared during the busy tours in Tasmania. The Burra-Burra copper mines of South Australia were visited. On the swarming gold-fields of New South Wales and Victoria note was taken of the concourse of foreigners, and especially of the Chinese, who numbered 40,000 on the lowest computation. Through the wide scrub, where the bell-bird rang the thirsty traveller to the track of water, long journeys were made to settlements in the Bush. The noble river Murray was seen at Port Elliot, mingling with the sea on the South Australian coast, and again 2000 miles inland, at the last steamer wharf at Albany on the borders of Victoria and New South Wales.

[1] In 1854 and 1855 over 135,500 British emigrants sailed for Australia and New Zealand. In the Colonies themselves masses of people were on the move. In 1854, while 15,000 settlers landed in Tasmania, 12,600 of the older colonists left the island.

Town life was observed to be much the same as in England. There was the same Sunday observance, and in certain places a ministry of the Gospel even more numerous in proportion to population than at home. Among the matters discussed with the local committees was the need of the multitudes encamped in tents and bark huts on the gold-fields, and of the hundreds of thousands of settlers scattered on farms and sheep-runs, in squatter stations, small towns, and villages of perhaps a half dozen households, over those vast hinterlands where there might be but a single minister to a district as large as Ireland.[1] Very many indeed had brought the Word of God with them; but what possibility was there of obtaining any further supply?

In all 107 public meetings were held—27 in Tasmania, and 80 in New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia;[2] to the list of 6 Auxiliaries and 5 Branches were added 88 new societies in untried fields; and upwards of £2150 was collected after addresses and sermons. Renewed vigour was infused into the work. Supplies of Scripture were shipped out for the schools in New South Wales. In Victoria all denominations united in support of the Victoria Mission to the Chinese, and the Committee gladly co-operated by sending a consignment of 4500 Chinese Testaments to the Melbourne Auxiliary.

Considerable subsidies were offered in aid of colportage. For 300 miles north and west of the Moreton Bay district—still a part of New South Wales—Biblemen from Sydney had found the families of shepherds and hut-keepers among whom the Bible was almost unknown and religion forgotten; and further south, in the Bush beyond the New England Hills, they came upon places where for eight or

[1] The population in 1856 was estimated at 770,000: 200,000 at the large ports, Sydney, Melbourne, Geelong, Adelaide, Hobart Town, and Launceston; over 150,000 on the gold-fields; 400,000 dispersed over the country. There were about 280 small towns and villages varying in population from 25 inhabitants to 2000.

[2] Sixty meetings were attended by the Rev. M. H. Becher and Mr Charles up to December 1855, when severe illness compelled the latter to return home.

ten years no minister had baptized the children or buried the dead. But owing to the great distances and heavy expense colportage could only be sparingly used.[1]

Here, as at home, the expansion and the permanent efficiency of Auxiliaries and Branches depended on regular visitation. Work was increasing beyond the powers of voluntary service, and the welfare of the Society, both in the Colonies and in the world at large, seemed perplexingly balanced between the appointment of paid local secretaries and the appointment of an agent sent out by the Committee. It long remained a question upon which opinion was divided. Pressed by circumstances, Hobart Town engaged a local secretary, Mr R. E. Dear. Melbourne decided on the same course. A year or two later Geelong, with its attention turned to the gold-fields, started a travelling agent. With the splendid co-operation of the clergy of different denominations, Sydney and Adelaide kept in touch with the growing number of its Branches and Associations; but most of the local committees urged the Parent Society to send out a representative of its own, and in February 1861 the Rev. J. K. Tucker of Holy Trinity, Northwich, sailed as permanent resident agent for the Australasian Colonies.

New Auxiliaries had in the meantime been formed at Barrabool Hills in Victoria, and at West Maitland (Hunter River) and Newcastle in New South Wales.[2] In 1858-59 the year's free contribution from Sydney amounted for the first time to £1000; and upon the 2nd October 1860 the foundation-stone of the Sydney Bible Hall (a memorial of the Jubilee) was laid by Sir William Denison, Governor-General of the Colonies, assisted by Dr Barker, the Metropolitan of Australia, and the Hon. George Allen, president of the Auxiliary. The site carried recollection back to the

[1] In six years 9000 copies were circulated, at a cost of £1200, towards which the Society contributed £400.

[2] The Hunter River Auxiliary was due chiefly to the Rev. E. Griffith. Twenty years back he had travelled with Wiseman among the Norfolk villages, and was some time secretary at Merthyr Tydvil.

days of the sainted Marsden. Here from his parsonage the Word of God went forth to the colony; here grew the two oak trees under whose shade he meditated on the Book which he loved and expounded so well. Within a twelvemonth the building was inaugurated by a new Governor and patron, Sir John Young.

Meanwhile, also, the flag of a new colony—Queensland—had been hoisted over a population of 22,000 settlers in a region thrice the size of France,—a rich and varied land, where there were hills of pure iron, where gold occurred in a new form, and the English fertility of Darling Downs passed northward into the fruit and foliage of the tropics. Moreton Bay had already sent a donation of £10 to the Society in 1855; in the following year an Auxiliary was formed there. In 1859, when Moreton Bay Auxiliary was identified with Brisbane ("a little port beautifully situated on the bend of its noble river"), and Ipswich, twenty-five miles inland, was first mentioned as the seat of another Auxiliary, these two were the only towns of any size north of Point Danger. In December that year Brisbane became the capital of Queensland, and a Bishop's see.

Mr Tucker's arrival was more than welcome. Letters for help, advice, encouragement poured in upon him. He was needed everywhere. During the first eighteen months he made a complete round of the Auxiliaries. By the end of 1864 he had held 239 meetings with Auxiliaries and Branches, and had travelled upwards of 26,600 miles by land and sea, finding his way alone over thirty-league plains, crossing Bush-covered ranges where there was scarcely an inhabitant, sleeping in some shepherd's hut or under the Southern Cross with his gig cushion for a pillow.

The distances became a nightmare. Were the Auxiliaries confined within the limits of England, he wrote a year or two later, they would be more than one man could handle; but

in the compass of this colonial agency there were perhaps 2,000,000 of people — the population of a single great continental city—scattered over twice the area of the whole of Europe. "From Sydney I have to visit Auxiliaries in Adelaide on the south and Rockhampton on the north, each of them over a thousand miles along the seaboard." Brisbane, Melbourne, Hobart Town, each was 500 miles from Sydney; and the inland towns were spread over a breadth of country ranging from one to five hundred miles from the coast.

The distinction of D.D. was added to his name. His splendid work won him many ready helpers—ministers of Church and Chapel, missionaries from the South Seas. In New South Wales eight of them, including Dr S. M. Creagh from Maré and Dr Steel of Sydney, travelled 3390 miles in 1865, and declined in several instances to accept even their expenses. With such generous fellowship, he arranged for the visitation of large districts year and year about.

New societies were organised; grants from the Committee enabled him to send out here and there a colporteur with his pack-horses; by means of the Bush Mission the Scriptures were carried to families which the system of "free selection" located far from towns, schools, and the privileges of Christian ministration. Prosperous Branches developed into Auxiliaries, and placed themselves in direct communication with the Bible House. A confederation of the Victorian Auxiliaries, with a great central depôt at Melbourne, was mooted in 1864; four years later a similar scheme was projected at Sydney; but these ideas were before their time.

In 1870 Dr Tucker accepted the archdeaconry of Beechworth and the incumbency of Wangaratta, on the edge of the celebrated Ovens Gold-field in north-east Victoria. In deference to the wishes of the Colonies, the Committee divided the enormous field into two agencies; and in January 1871 the Rev. Benjamin Backhouse left England as

the Society's representative in New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand.[1]

Ten years had passed, a brilliant decade in growth of free income and more extended circulation, while in the matter of organisation Australia and Tasmania showed a roll of 18 Auxiliaries and 141 Branches.

The Sydney Auxiliary celebrated its jubilee in 1867. During the half century it had issued 121,016 copies of Scripture, and had sent home £9326 in free contributions. Within the last decade four daughter Auxiliaries had claimed a share in the Bible-work of the Colony — Hunter River and Newcastle, which we have already mentioned; the Cumberland Auxiliary, which ceased to be the Parramatta Branch in 1862; and Goulburn, which in 1863 became at once an Auxiliary and an episcopal see, with a Vice-President of the Society, Dr Thomas, as the first Bishop. In 1863 the Sydney Auxiliary undertook the printing of the Niué Testament for the Savage Islanders, and this was the first of several Pacific versions which it produced at its own cost or on behalf of the Society. A Biblewoman, supported by voluntary subscriptions and some help from the Auxiliary, began work in Sydney in 1865. A little later Parramatta engaged a Biblewoman of its own, and Goulburn a colporteur. A Governor (Macquarie) presided at the formation of the Sydney Auxiliary on the 7th March 1817; another Governor (Sir John Young) presided at its jubilee, and he was succeeded as patron by the Earl of Belmore. Few, indeed, in the succession of Australian Governors and Bishops but were prominently connected with the Auxiliaries of the colonial capitals.

In Victoria flourishing Auxiliaries had arisen at Ballarat, Sandhurst (Bendigo), Castlemaine, and Portland; and Geelong had included Barrabool Hills among its seven

[1] New Zealand, 1300 miles away from Sydney, has, for convenience, been described in the preceding chapter.

Branches. In the gold regions, where the population now considerably exceeded 200,000 souls, a prosperous Bible and Mission work was in progress among the groups of Chinese, Maoris, Samoans, Malagasy and Persians, who were provided with the Gospel in their native tongues. The ubiquity of the Society was suggested by a noble display of versions at the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1866; its sympathy with distress, by the distribution of some hundreds of Testaments among the emigrants wrecked in the *Wetherby* on King's Island. Four Biblewomen were busy in the streets and suburbs of the capital, and the Auxiliary was supported by twenty-seven Branches and Ladies' Associations. Strangely enough in a city so rich and enlightened, the Melbourne Auxiliary had been embarrassed for a number of years. In 1870, however, it cleared off its responsibilities, and started afresh with a free contribution of £100. From its formation in 1840 to 1871 it had distributed over 140,000 copies of the Word of God.

In South Australia in 1861 every one, it was reported, save in strange and exceptional instances, was provided with the Scriptures. During the decade Adelaide took precedence of all the Colonial Auxiliaries as a contributory to the world-wide work of the Society. Gold was not the only loadstone of population under the southern constellations. On Yorke Peninsula, which was rarely visited but by a lonely shepherd with his flock after the fall of the rain, the discovery of copper brought together some 8000 people, and in 1864 there were vigorous Branches at Kadina and the small ports of Wallaroo and Moonta. In the same year portions of the Old and New Testament, translated into Narrinyeri by Mr George Taplin of the Point Macleay Institution, were printed for a black tribe on the Lower Murray; and in 1867 the Adelaide Auxiliary undertook the first of its South Sea editions. From time to time colporteurs travelled among the pioneers of new

settlements, and in the capital Biblewomen were supported by the generosity of John Howard Angas, one of the local vice-presidents. A second Auxiliary was formed in 1869—that of Mount Barker, the green conspicuous hill which Captain Barker discovered and gave his name to less than forty years before. It was still all a land of new things. Adelaide itself was of later date, its Auxiliary yet more recent; but in the course of its six-and-twenty years it had dispersed 114,000 copies of the Sacred Book, and its anniversaries were attended by ten or twelve thousand supporters.

The same brief past was referred to at the celebration of the jubilee of the Hobart Town Auxiliary by Governor Ducane: "Less than half a century had sufficed to change the country from a primeval forest, the haunt of emus, kangaroos, and a savage race of men, into a land of smiling fields and orchards, studded with many a happy English-looking homestead; and far less time to raise up a fair and flourishing city, with its churches, chapels, and institutions of all kinds." The savage race, the poor blackfellow and his *gin*, had indeed wholly vanished from hill and stream, in a way that the white Christian is glad to forget.[1] A heart-stirring impulse was given by the Jubilee deputation in 1854. Within the next seven years over 21,000 Bibles and Testaments were put into circulation, and by 1867 the total issues of both Tasmanian Auxiliaries from the beginning (1819) amounted to 60,000 copies, among 90,000 inhabitants. Hobart Town increased its free contributions from £300 in the first five years of the period, to £865 in the second, and £1600 in the third. From many of the Branches came free gifts which, compared with the population, outstripped the generosity of more than one English town. Of Ross, with 500 inhabitants and £84 "free," we shall hear again.

[1] Bonwick, *The Last of the Tasmanians*. The last of the aborigines, a woman of seventy, died in 1876.

Among the honoured names associated with Tasmania stands out signally that of Henry Hopkins, one of the earliest colonists, and for many years treasurer of the Hobart Town Auxiliary. In 1858 he doubled the local contribution to the India Fund and made it £600; in 1860 he sent home £500 for general purposes; in 1865, £100 for the new Bible House; in 1868, £100 for Abyssinia; and at his death, two years later, he bequeathed £300, of which one third was to be spent in Testaments for the children of Tasmania.

Curiously enough the children's star was just rising over Australia. Mr Backhouse landed in Melbourne on the 24th April 1871, and delivered his first address the same evening. Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales, and South Australia were visited in the course of the year; new Branches were formed; 101 public meetings were held and 38 sermons preached on behalf of the Society. But a fresh and beautiful element of enthusiasm lit up his work. In all parts of the Colonies the school children were gathered together; places of worship were closed for their united meetings; differences of denomination were forgotten in their single-hearted acceptance of the Divine Word; and as the clear voices of 1400 or 2000 young people joined in some well-known hymn, "tears were occasionally seen to roll down strong men's cheeks." Engagements and journeys became more arduous, but these children's meetings were too precious a guarantee of the future to suffer curtailment. The appointment of a colleague was unavoidably delayed, and Backhouse coped with the whole field, in spite of trouble and bereavement, until his health failed in 1876. Canon Becher and other good friends in Melbourne relieved him of the anxieties of his charge; and the Rev. J. T. Evans, who had been born in England, educated at Oxford, and ordained in Australia, was chosen to join him as his assistant. He rallied wonderfully; then came a relapse, a time of patient resignation, and the end, on the 25th June 1877.

Evans reached Melbourne in the following January, and again began the crowded routine of business, the delightful meetings of the children, the endless travelling—over stormy seas, over wastes where the road was marked with furrows of a plough; night-stages in the snow beyond the Dividing Range, burning days in the tropic plantations of Queensland. He too covered the whole area of the Colonies, went further north and west in Australia than either of his predecessors. In one year he and his friends attended 288 out of a total of 320 Bible meetings; the journeys involved 20,000 miles, of which 12,000 fell to his share. Illness and accident were almost inevitable in such a life. In 1880 he was laid up with concussion of the spine; late in the same year an attack of rheumatic paralysis stopped his work in South Australia; and in 1882 a more serious breakdown at Adelaide resulted in his resignation.

So rapid had been the development of these great Colonies that a more commensurate representation of the Society had at length become imperative. The Committee decided to assign Australia and Tasmania to two agents, and to make a separate arrangement for New Zealand; but the Rev. H. T. Robjohns, a London graduate, well known as a writer and speaker, had scarcely been appointed when, in the summer of 1883, the news that Melbourne and Sydney had taken an independent course left the Committee in complete uncertainty as to the intentions of the other Auxiliaries. Later mails threw light on the situation.

It was proposed to the Society that the whole of the New South Wales Auxiliaries—hitherto independent—should be federated under Sydney, and that a local agent, selected on the spot, and maintained by the Auxiliaries in the Colony or by the Parent Society, should take the place of a representative sent out from England. A paid travelling secretary had been tentatively engaged in 1881, and the Rev. R. T. Hills had now accepted the post as a permanency. On

the suggestion of the Committee, however, the scheme was submitted to the Auxiliaries themselves, and the fact that adequate control of local expenditure was not secured either directly or through the Society sufficed for its rejection.

In the case of Melbourne the decline in subscriptions and the lapse of Branches called for immediate action, and with the general concurrence of the officials a travelling secretary had been engaged. Good results were obtained, but they did not reconcile the other societies of the colony to the prospect of centralisation under Melbourne. After ten months' trial the experiment was discontinued, and an appeal was made to the Committee for an agent from England. At the same time assurances were received at the Bible House that the income and usefulness of Adelaide would be largely extended by the aid of an agent from England, and that Western Australia would also repay an annual visit. The Rev. E. Wilfred Robinson, sometime Vicar of Tullow, was accordingly appointed. In each case the engagement was made for three years only, to meet a possible change of circumstances. Mr Robjohns reached Sydney on Christmas Eve 1883; and after severe trials and much domestic anxiety his colleague arrived at Launceston, Tasmania, in the following February.

Something remains to be said of the different colonies.

So far Western Australia had taken but a small part in the story of the Society. In the early years of the period cases of Scripture were sent from time to time to correspondents, but, wrote Mr E. R. Parker of Dangin, York, "the colony, which is nearly as large as all Russia, is still very thinly populated. About one half of the men, and nearly all the female servants are Irish Roman Catholics, which reduces considerably the demand for Bibles." It was, however, a land of the young — "a country teeming with children," wrote Miss Clifton long afterwards; and there were many readers eager for New

Testament Portions, and at a later time for the *Gleanings for the Young*. In the sixties free contributions and small sums in payment of orders came from Miss E. K. Clifton of Mortland and from Lady Bunbury; and in 1870 the Bunbury Auxiliary was formed. It did not long survive the death of its patroness, but the friends we have mentioned, and others at Perth, Geraldton, and elsewhere kept in touch with the Bible House. At the moment Western Australia was included in the new agency scheme, arrangements were in progress for collecting on behalf of the Society and for some attempt at colportage among the scattered settlements. During the period close upon £119 was received in free contributions and £63 on purchase account.

The beginnings of Bible-work in Queensland were interwoven with the romance of colonisation. Settlement moved northward like the flourish of spring, dotting the coast with ports, the country with towns and villages; spreading abroad great corn-lands, grazings, and plantations; exploiting gold, iron, and coal; and the Society strove to keep pace with it. Before the end of the period there were Branches at Gympie, Maryborough, Rockhampton, Toowoomba, Mackay amid its cocoa-nut palms, Charters Towers on its gold-reefs, Townsville the seat of a northern Bishopric; and Mr Evans was holding Bible meetings and gathering together the children at Cook Town 1100 miles nearer New Guinea. Colporteurs, aided by the Society but mainly supported apart from it, carried the Word of God to the upland stations and the far-outlying squatter regions. "I have ridden fourteen miles to a service," said a gentleman in later days, "but I have been visited only by a colporteur of the Bible Society, who read and prayed with us." Biblewomen, also independently maintained, laboured in the capital, which had grown in 1884 to a fair city of about 70,000 inhabitants. The population of the colony

had multiplied from the 22,000 of 1859 to something over 300,000. Besides the white settlers, the need for coloured labour had brought in thousands of Pacific Islanders and Asiatics—a not unfruitful mission-field. In 1861 the Rev. E. Griffith, who had left Hunter River, became secretary of the Brisbane Auxiliary. He saw it through the chances and changes of the period. The names of four Governors were entered on its rolls as presidents or patrons; but perhaps the most important event in this connection was the presence of the Bishop of Brisbane (Dr Blagden Hale) at the twentieth anniversary. It was the first time an Anglican Churchman of the capital had taken his stand on the Society's platform, and that was the beginning of kindlier relations and more united effort on behalf of the cause. The remittances from Queensland amounted to £6269—£2761 free and £3508 in payment of Scriptures.

In New South Wales the Society was represented at the close of the period by twelve Auxiliaries and ninety-five Branches. The Clarence Auxiliary had been formed at Grafton on the Clarence River in 1873; the Western at Bathurst, and the Singleton, at one time a Branch of the Hunter River, in 1874; the Wagga-Wagga in 1875; the New England at Armidale in 1878; the Liverpool Plains at Tamworth, and the Queanbeyan in 1880. "Along the banks of the Clarence," wrote Mr Evans, "the small but fertile farms mainly produce sugar-cane, bananas, and maize. Here I met more Highlanders than in any part of Australia." Here too one heard of a lady on horseback calling for subscriptions within a radius of thirty miles, and of another collector spending a fortnight in a boat to take the gifts of the riverside settlers. At Bathurst, as at Parramatta, the Bible children mustered 1000 strong. At Tamworth the Rev. W. J. K. Piddington, whose services dated from the Jubilee visit, ministered to twelve congregations, from five to forty miles away.

Public attention was drawn to the claims of the Society and the extent of its linguistic work at the Sydney Exhibitions of 1871 and 1879. In the latter year the free contributions from the colony reached the large total of £1200.

In 1882 Bishop Barker, the vice-patron of the Sydney Auxiliary, died at San Remo. At the anniversary gathering of that year a special feature of interest was the appearance of a striking group of South Sea Islanders—sixteen Christian teachers, male and female—about to sail in the *John Williams* to the New Guinea mission-field. They sang some hymns in their native tongue; one read a Psalm, and another addressed the meeting. On his first Sunday in Sydney in December 1883 Mr Robjohns took part in a service held to bid farewell to fourteen others, who were on their way thither with their wives and children. For nine years the Rev. W. G. Lawes had laboured on the shores of the savage Papuan heathendom, and the Auxiliary had added the Gospel of St Mark in Motu to its Polynesian versions; but this new development of Bible-work we leave for the concluding period of our history.

The Right Rev. Dr Barry succeeded Dr Barker as Bishop of Sydney, Primate of Australia, Vice-President of the Parent Society, and vice-patron of the Auxiliary. At its sixty-seventh anniversary (March 1884), the President, Sir George Wigram Allen, in the chair, it was announced that the circulation in the thirty years had been 219,862 copies, and the issues from the beginning 253,228.

Many vicissitudes chequered the course of events in Victoria. Geelong, one of the oldest and most liberal of the Auxiliaries, declined for a year or two, but was revived, and Bible Sunday became "an institution" in the town; Ballarat passed through a critical stage; Bendigo (Sandhurst) had to be resuscitated; Castlemaine returned to the condition of a Branch, and a number of Associations died out; but Auxiliaries were founded at Sale, Gippsland, in

1874 and in Beechworth in 1878, and when the period closed Victoria had seven Auxiliaries and forty-nine Branches.

Melbourne lost a distinguished president of twenty-six years' standing on the return of Bishop Perry to England in 1875,[1] but the friendly tradition of the see was maintained by his successor Dr Moorhouse.

A collection of the Society's versions was assigned the first order of merit in the Melbourne Exhibition of 1880, but unhappily the consignment of Scripture and literature intended for circulation was lost in the wreck of the *Sorata* near Adelaide.

In January 1883 died Canon Becher, for nearly twenty years secretary of the Melbourne Auxiliary. At this distance of time he is scarcely recognisable as the colleague of Dr Thomas Charles of the Jubilee deputation. Before returning to England in 1856, he married in Victoria, and four years later resigned his Lincolnshire parish to take the incumbency of St James's, Melbourne, where his love of the Society and his experience of an agent's life made him a trusty and sympathetic counsellor. Not the least of his services was a pamphlet he wrote on the debt the great Anglican Missions owed the Bible Society.

The financial position of the Melbourne Auxiliary remained to the end of the chapter the least encouraging detail in the record of Australia. In 1874 Mr Backhouse deplored the indifference of rich merchants and prosperous squatters, and the small support received from the capital compared with the rest of the colony. In 1884 Mr Robinson was surprised that less than half-a-dozen Sunday collections were made for Bible-work in a city covering a square of five miles. During the thirty years, in fact, out of a total of £8288 transmitted from Victoria in free contributions, Melbourne itself was credited with no more than £260.

[1] Bishop Perry, who had been one of the leading advocates for opening the Society's annual meeting with Bible-reading and prayer (vol. ii. p. 164), died in 1891, the senior Vice-President. He had held office forty-four years.

Geelong raised £1973; the rest came from the other Victorian Auxiliaries and Branches. An effort to improve matters was made in 1883, when on the 10th July Bishop Moorhouse strenuously appealed to an assemblage of 3000 people in the Town Hall.

So tranquil was the tenor of its Bible-work, South Australia seemed a land of green pastures and still waters. In places like Gladstone and Crystal Brook depôts were opened where a few years before there were no houses; then Branches appeared where there had been but depôts. Even at Point Macleay an Association took form among the aborigines—our Narrinyeri friends,—who showed an eager desire for the spread of the Word of God. At the close of the period Adelaide and Mount Barker were still the only Auxiliaries, but there were fifty-seven Branches. The population of the colony had risen to 213,671 in 1878, and among them 174,949 copies of Scriptures had been circulated. The contributions for the work of the world were not less conspicuous. South Australia, as the Governor, Sir W. Jervois, pointed out from the chair at the annual meeting, gave the Society two and a half farthings per head; New South Wales a farthing and a half; Queensland half a farthing, and Victoria one-tenth of a farthing. The free contributions from Adelaide during the thirty years amounted to £13,419 (£6700 in the first half, £6719 in the second), or £2814 less than that of the great Sydney Auxiliary. Its issues in the same time numbered about 210,000 copies.

In Tasmania there were idyllic scenes in Glenore, the home of the Shoobridge family, and Moira Vale, the estate of the Kermodes; but over these we may not linger. The Rev. C. Price, who had been secretary of the Cornwall Auxiliary (Launceston) for forty years, and who was one of the few surviving founders, resigned in 1878, and was succeeded by the Rev. W. Law, for upwards of twenty years a member of the local committee. The Rev. R. E. Dear of

Hobart Town, whose tours had been an unfailing stimulus in the south, died in 1880. The Cornwall Auxiliary, which had circulated 43,458 copies of Scripture since its formation, celebrated its jubilee in 1882, and marked the event with a free contribution of £150. As the period closed the new Bishop of Tasmania (Dr Sandford), the first to take any active part in the Bible-work of the island, presided at the Hobart Town anniversary, and promised his hearty co-operation. When the new agent, the Rev. E. Wilfred Robinson, reached his headquarters, he found that Hobart Town with its fifteen and Launceston with its fourteen Branches had agreed to be known as "the Southern" and "the Northern" Portions of "the Tasmanian Auxiliary."

So we leave these colonies after thirty years of transformation. There are no means of ascertaining the total circulation; but during the period £62,105 was received in free contributions and £71,460 in payment of Scriptures.[1] The expenditure of the Society from the appointment of Dr Tucker (1861) amounted to £19,884.

[1] New South Wales: £27,586, free; £19,887, purchase. Victoria: £8288, free; £22,925, purchase. South Australia: £15,034, free; £18,456, purchase. Queensland: £2761, free; £3508, purchase. West Australia: £119, free; £63, purchase. Tasmania: £8317, free; £6621, purchase.

CHAPTER XXXIV

MADAGASCAR AND MAURITIUS

THROUGH the long years of persecution in Madagascar faith never lost sight of "the rainbow in the heavens, close to the place of burning." The work of preparation went on steadily at the Bible House, and in 1855 Mr Meller and the Rev. David Griffiths completed the revision and printing of the New Testament. In 1858 the Old Testament had been revised to the end of the Book of Job, and the tenth chapter of Judges had passed through the press when, in consequence of straitened means and the urgency of other claims, the Committee decided to suspend progress until there was some prospect of distribution.

The interest which the people of England had always felt in "the martyr Church" was deeply stirred by the publication of William Ellis's *Three Visits to Madagascar*.[1] The book glowed with the testimony it bore to the living power of the Scriptures, and to the happy steadfastness of those who were "always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus"; but it gave little ground for hope that better days were near. Now and again news came from the island; letters of strange beauty and pathos, which brought salutations from "all the pilgrims, all the captives, and all the brethren," and pleaded for kindly remembrance: "Do not forget to send letters to us; like cold water in a hot and thirsty land is the word coming from friends far away."

[1] Visits in 1853, 1854, and 1856; the volume appeared in 1858.

It is 1859 now, and the Queen's edict is still proclaimed every second week in all the markets. The search is as keen as ever. Sometimes, in a flutter of terror, friends burn at last the tracts, hymns, Testaments, treasured so long. The preachers have changed their names, and are in hiding; but every evening—"so striking is God's leading of us"—they meet the brethren for mutual encouragement and instruction. "From seven to eight is the hour; but after that, at nine, the evening gun fires, and the people are not permitted to be abroad any longer." On the mountain, too, the Scriptures are read in some cave, some chasm among the granite boulders, while sharp eyes keep watch with "the field-glasses you sent us." Of those who were driven in chains into the fever-stricken wilderness, half are dead. Fifty spearmen kept guard over them. "Three days' journey west was the distance they journeyed, but two months were they in travelling, on account of the great weight of their fetters."[1] And as they went along they sang—

"We—oh, we who're journeying now,
Are pilgrims unto Zion bound.
Rejoice, rejoice for evermore;
In Christ our Saviour joy is found."

Captives dropped and died; the cold clay was hewn from its bondage, and the survivors bear the penalty of the dead. Nay, cannot bear it; "they are unable to move about unless friends carry the fetters; night and day they are borne up in this way." "But as for those who died, happy are they because of their release from their heavy burden; and bright angels came to make them glad. Moreover, as they were dying, they admonished those who remained, to lean wholly on Jesus. And they said, 'Faint not under these heavy fetters, for lo! the Golden City is prepared for us, and Jesus, our Brother, has guided us in the way.' Then did

[1] Rings of rugged six-inch iron, riveted on neck and ankles; bars nearly three feet long, to link man to man: half a hundred-weight.

the survivors rejoice as they heard that." For one signal mercy shall we not praise "the compassion of Christ"? The Queen's son, Prince Rakoton-d Radama, is friendly and true. "When any are accused of being Christians, he uses his utmost authority to screen them, remembering our affliction and our sorrows. And he has given us his signature to authenticate to you our sufferings. Behold, here is his 'mark' appended to our letter:—

> 'Now my name I hereunto affix in response to their appeal to me, says
>
> RAKOTON-D RADAMA,
>
> Prince, Thirteen Honours, Officer of the Palace, Chief Secretary.'"

Until late in the summer of 1861 this reign of torment and terror was protracted; then, amid wild rumours of signs and presages — the mysterious light as of a vast fire glowing red along the dark hills; voices, like music, sounding from ancient tombs—the fierce spirit of Ránaválona passed from the world on the 16th of August.

Her son Rakoton, a professed Christian, succeeded under the title of Radama II., and once more the country was open to the Gospel. The news of that great deliverance sent a thrill of joy and thanksgiving through the Christian world. At the Bible House directions were given for the completion of the Malagasy revision, and all the New Testaments and Portions in stock—nearly 12,000 copies—were promptly sent out with the missionaries who were in haste to renew their labours. Pen cannot describe the gladness with which those volumes were welcomed by the children of the martyrs; the confessors who had escaped the precipice, the stake, the cross, or had survived the wilderness; the men and women who had been won to Christ by the reading of the Word on the mountain-side or in the dangerous hour in the city before gun-fire. For three days after their arrival crowds of eager purchasers thronged the approaches to the mission-house

from morning till night. A marvellous thing it was to discover how far below the reality every calculation as to the number of believers had fallen ; and still more marvellous to perceive that the religion learned from the simple Word of God had been preserved free from all visionary and erratic ideas.

In September Mr Ellis was received by King Radama, and presented him in the name of the Committee with an address and a beautiful English Bible. In those early months of his career the King seemed to sum up in himself the best possibilities of his race. Even those who "would not speak entirely without qualification," described him as "enlightened," as "all that was amiable, all that was bright, all that was benevolent." In his winning and auspicious nature there appeared no shadow of the dark heritage which he had drawn from his mother's veins. "Before I left the palace," wrote Mr Ellis, "the King read with me several portions of the book, with which he expressed himself much pleased;" and afterwards, when he wrote to thank the President and Committee, he referred to his solicitude for the welfare of his people and his desire for the freest circulation and use of the Scriptures among them. Within a year of his accession, however, there were signs of serious trouble: high nobles and trusty counsellors dismissed, affairs committed to light and inexperienced men, judicial vigilance relaxed, the revenue compromised by fiscal innovations. Then began the intrigues of the Secret Police[1] and the Guardians of the Idols, who brought to bear on the King the ghostly menaces and spiritual terrors of the old witchcraft. In the provinces and the capital occurred real or pretended outbreaks of mental disease—a sort of running and dancing sickness, in the paroxysms of which the sufferers saw

[1] The *Mena maso*, or "Red Eyes"; a body of inquisitors appointed to spy out political plots and to keep the King advised of all that passed; eyes supposed to be red with the strain of their difficult investigations.

visions and heard prophetic voices from the invisible world. It was rumoured that the dead kings of Madagascar, Radama's ancestors, had been seen by many, and had announced that they came to warn their descendant of the danger which threatened him unless "the praying" were stopped. To the dismay of his best friends, Radama succumbed to the superstition of his race. The palace was thronged with frantic dancers. In the folly of a blinded mind and perverted heart he ordered that they should be paid the same marks of respect as were shown to the idols when they were carried through the streets.

The anniversary of the Society in 1863 was held in Exeter Hall on the 6th May. Dr Tidman, the secretary of the London Missionary Society, was describing the twenty-five years of persecution and bloodshed, when Bishop Ryan, just arrived from Mauritius, appeared unexpectedly on the platform. He was received with enthusiastic interest when he rose to tell of what he had himself seen during his visit to Madagascar. He spoke of the young officers who asked him in broken English if he had brought "the book of Jesus Christ"; of the people from distant villages who met him with the cry "Bibles! Bibles!" of men who remembered with tears the first missionaries; of fugitives who showed him the texts which had given them heart and hope in the years of their wanderings. Radama—not yet crazed and darkened—had deeply impressed him, and he asked their earnest prayers that his life might be preserved.

At that moment, could one have known, the King's fate was sealed. The Idol Guardians and Red Eyes had thrown off the mask; Christians and high nobles opposed to their plots were marked down for assassination; and Radama, too irresolute to strike, proposed to sanction a sort of St Bartholomew—free fighting with spears and fire-arms, and to screen the murderer if any one were killed. On the 7th

he informed his Ministers of his insane project; they strove in vain to move him by argument and prayer; and at last they took measures for their own security. Bands of armed men poured into the excited city; a number of the Red Eyes were captured and slain; and the Ministers compelled the surrender of a dozen or more who had taken refuge with the King. In the course of a heated discussion Radama insisted on his sole sovereignty; his word was law; his person was sacred, his life was supernaturally protected, and those who thwarted his will should suffer for it. It was the final folly in a tragedy of mental derangement. The nobles felt that it was not safe for such a king to live, and on the morning of the 12th Radama died by their hands within the palace. There was no one with him but his Queen Rasohérina, and to the last moment she used every effort to save him. On the same day she succeeded to the throne as a constitutional ruler, and complete freedom and protection were guaranteed to all forms of religion.

An interesting incident in 1864 was the appearance of her ambassadors on the platform at the anniversary meeting in Exeter Hall. In the course of a long interview they gave the Committee full and accurate information as to the condition and prospects of their country, and carried back with them copies of the Malagasy Bible as far as it was yet printed. The progress of the revised edition had been checked by the death of Mr Griffiths in 1863, but, two years later, the work was finished, with the assistance of Mr Meller, and the first consignment of the complete Bible reached the City of a Thousand Towns in 1866. The people could not contain themselves for joy; all their Bibles except perhaps a dozen priceless copies had perished in the martyr days; they pressed forward in such intense excitement to obtain the new edition that the doors of the depôt had to be closed, and the books were handed out through the window. One of these volumes found its way into the

palace. "It received no honour of any kind"; in a spare moment some one might open it and spell through a verse, then it was laid aside and forgotten; but it was yet to prosper in the thing whereto it was sent.

By this date the number of avowed Christians had increased to something between sixteen and eighteen thousand. Churches and schools had sprung up in the capital; there were congregations in scores of the surrounding villages; and at distant posts in the outer provinces, whither the Hova troops had carried the Scriptures, groups of believers met for worship.[1] Still the country at large was pervaded by a deep distrust of foreigners and foreign customs, and the sinister authority of the Idol Guardians remained unshaken. The firmness of the Queen counted for law and order, and the pledges given at her proclamation were loyally fulfilled. She never abandoned the heathen superstitions of her land, but so far was she from opposing the spread of the Gospel that she allowed her adopted children to learn all that was taught to a Christian child. At the close of her brief reign in March 1868, she was buried in a canoe of solid silver, and her cousin Ránaválona II. succeeded.

The "Spirit of adoption" seemed to overshadow the new Queen. In the time of mourning for Rasohérina she opened the neglected palace Bible. As she read, a great light broke upon her, and "her mind was changed." She sent for three of the oldest of her heathen Ministers, and told them she was convinced there must be a God who made the heavens and the earth, and she was going to pray to Him. "They thanked her, and said it was good; but their faces were very doleful." The Idol Guardians came to offer their homage and to place her under the favour and protection of the idols. Her reply was frank and fearless: "Gladly I receive your allegiance as my subjects, but as Idol Guardians I cannot

[1] At the close of 1866 the returns of the pioneer mission, the London Missionary Society, showed 79 churches, 6 English missionaries, 95 native pastors, 4379 communicants, 549 candidates, 20 schools, 29 teachers, and 936 scholars.

recognise you. These idols are not my idols." At her coronation the angelic greeting, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill toward men," was inscribed around her gilded canopy; on a small table near her lay a handsomely bound Bible, the gift of the Society to the unhappy Radama; and the missionaries were invited to a place of honour near her royal person. Thenceforth divine service was held within the palace; Sunday labour was stopped; Sunday markets were closed. In February 1869 the Queen and the Prime Minister, whom she had married, were baptized by Adriambélo (the writer of the letter about "the field-glasses you sent us"); after four months' probation and instruction they were admitted to the Lord's Supper; and on the 20th July Ránaválona laid the foundation-stone of the Palace Church—"the stone house which I build as a house of prayer and praise and service to God."[1]

The Idol Guardians were in despair. They implored the Queen to return to the worship of her fathers. Her refusal was supported by her highest officials; a public assembly was convened; and the voice of the people themselves pronounced the doom of the old gods. The great national idol, Manjakatsiroa, was banished from the capital to a distant village, and the mighty fetich of Imérina, Ramáhavály the healer, was destroyed by the Hova pastor Rainivélo. In the later years of Ránaválona I., Rainivélo had lived a careless heathen life, but as he walked on a day near one of the spots where the martyrs died he picked up a scrap of printed paper. It was no more than a fragment of a Psalm, but it contained a verse which spoke with such power of the might and majesty of Jehovah that he sought out the Christians, inquired as to their belief, accepted Christ for his Redeemer, and after suffering privations and loss for His sake, became himself a teacher of the Gospel. Ill fared the

[1] A month or two later a beautifully bound copy of the Malagasy Scriptures—the first gift of the Society—was presented to her Majesty.

healer Ramáhavály at his hands. He hewed the wood of him to pieces, and cast it with his coverings of cloth and spangles into the flames. The heathen looked to see the sacrilege avenged by the indignant fetich; but Rainivélo returned to his home in safety, and lived to take part in the next revision of the Malagasy Bible.

Throughout the central province and over a large tract of Betsileo the movement spread like a rush of fire. The symbols of heathenism were swept away; and under the impulsion of tribal custom and traditional loyalty, perhaps too of the very freedom in which they were left to make their choice, the people turned in masses to the religion of the Queen. The resources of the missions and the native churches were strained to the uttermost to change this nominal conversion into a deliberate and sincere acceptance of the truths of Christianity. By the beginning of 1871 the number of churches under the direction of the London Missionary Society had increased to 621, with a roll of nearly 21,000 communicants and 232,000 attendants at divine worship; over 2000 native pastors and evangelists were preaching the Gospel; 15,800 scholars were under instruction in 359 schools, and in outlying districts close upon 10,000 young people had been taught to read.

The Society responded with alacrity to the appeals which were at once made for increased supplies of the Scriptures. Edition after edition — 20,000 copies of the revised New Testament with marginal references,[1] 20,000 copies of St Luke, of the Acts, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Psalms—was hurried through the press and shipped to its destination. The demand grew larger, more urgent. The finances were burdened by heavy liabilities in connection with the Franco-German war, by the work in Spain, Italy, and Austria; but the Committee could not hesitate, and

[1] The Rev. R. G. Hartley saw the book through the press, and was in the midst of other editorial work for the Society when he was called to his rest on the 13th February 1870.

orders were given for 20,000 copies of the entire Bible—a pocket edition—and 50,000 of the New Testament. During the year 1870 alone, the consignments placed at the disposal of the London Missionary Society (58,600 copies) were valued at £2624; grants in addition to these were voted to the Church Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the mission of the Society of Friends; and a little later supplies were sent to the Norwegian Mission and to Norwegian traders who were establishing a chain of stations along the coast. Between the accession of Ránaválona II. and March 1873 the Society printed no fewer than 299,800 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions in Malagasy. No more than a mere fraction of the expenditure on production and freightage ever returned to its coffers. In a country destitute of beasts of burden and wheeled conveyances, the cost of transport from the sea to the capital absorbed between 80 and 90 per cent. of the receipts from sales. Prices were fixed low to meet the poverty which prevailed, but even the sum of 1s., at which the pocket Bible was offered when it reached the island in 1874, did not seem small to labouring men who earned no more than 8s. a month. That light and convenient volume, however, had long been needed, and in a few months 6300 were sold. Instead of passing a rare copy from hand to hand, the scholars in the Bible classes read now for the most part from their own books; and at divine service one heard the pleasant rustling of the Tree of Life as the leaves were turned when a chapter was given out. One heard too, from converts and missionaries alike, a voice of thanksgiving, and a prayer for blessing on the Society for the great gift of God's Word.

Of the transformation that was taking place in the minds and hearts of tens of thousands there could be no question. Bible classes, which sometimes lasted for three or four hours, were attended by numbers ranging from two to four hundred; and men and women left their work in the fields and their

stalls in the market to learn something more of the love and compassion of the God who made them. From the palace to the clay hut thatched with reeds the spirit of the Bereans was abroad. At noon in the rice valleys, when the workers sheltered under a shady tree; on the hill-top in the steaming forest, when the carriers laid down their loads and stretched their tired limbs on the ground; in the cool of the day when people sat outside their houses, groups of listeners might be seen gathered around one who read; and the book in his hand was ever the same—the New Testament. Copper-coloured Betsileos from the south, jet-black woolly-headed Sakalavas from the west made two and three months' journeys in quest of the Scriptures. In strange villages where the Gospel story was told for the first time, "Tell it us again," was the cry which greeted the speaker; "these things are new to us, but they make us glad to hear; tell it again."

The change showed itself in the forms of everyday talk. The shrewd sayings of bygone generations, the innumerable proverbs which applied the wisdom of experience to every circumstance of life,[1] were yielding precedence to the sacred text, and were now quoted chiefly as instances and illustrations of the "living oracles." And these last held good for the teacher no less than for the taught; by them the missionary himself was expected, when need rose, to justify every action and requirement. "There is the Word of God. If we have been wrong, show us from that book; but until you do show us——" Even in high politics and warfare the Gospel exercised its power. "You are going to fight the Queen's enemies," said the Prime Minister when the Sakalavas revolted; "remember they too are the Queen's people. You are Christians now; no more of the cruelties of our heathen wars!" "We thought," said the rebel chief, invited to a parley, "we thought you 'praying' people were *malemy fanahy* — gentle in spirit" (like the Bechuana dog

[1] Nearly 1500 were printed at the Mission press.

which ate a leaf of the Bible); "never fought or put people to death; why don't you harry and enslave us as in the old time?" The Book was the answer. "According to this book we never put to death or punish the upright, as we often did when we were heathens; but the guilty must be punished, for this is the Word of God and the law of the Queen." So there came to be no washing of spears, but a nominal fine of oxen was imposed, and the Sakalava leader was given a copy of the New Testament as a token of goodwill and of the peaceful intention of the Queen. "If ever we make war on you without just cause, or kill or punish the guiltless, show us this book; then indeed we shall be self-condemned." Then again, when conscription was found necessary in 1876, the Government displayed a far-sighted discretion. The young men in the schools were exempt from service, and dispensation was granted to all teachers, preachers, and pastors so long as they were employed in mission or evangelistic work.

Deep shadows, it is true, gloomed across this radiant picture, darkening it with memories of another people, who "inflamed themselves with idols under every green tree, and slew the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks." There were church members who still clung to the evil practices of sorcery; "preachers, deacons, and other leaders of 'the praying'" had been implicated in a revival of the *tanghena* or poison-ordeal, by which many thousands perished in former times; even in the capital the little babe born in "the unlucky month" still drew its innocent breath in peril. At the best not more than a fourth of the entire population had yet been touched. Notwithstanding these reminders of human frailty and insufficiency, the work was steadily progressing. In 1879 the London Missionary Society had 1080 congregations, thrice that number of native preachers, and 50,000 children in its schools; the circulation for the year amounted to 14,172 copies; and the Committee had

sent out another edition (25,000 booklets) of the Gospel of St Luke.

During these years the production of a Malagasy version which might take a place among the great translations had never been lost sight of. In spite of zeal and scholarship, the last revision, completed without native help and far from the sound of the living tongue, left room for many improvements; but at first little could be done on the spot in consequence of the pressure of other duties. In 1872, however, a joint board of revision was appointed at a conference of delegates from all the missions in the island; with the concurrence of the London Missionary Society, the Rev. W. E. Cousins gave his whole time to the task as editor-in-chief; and the Bible Society guaranteed all the expenses of the undertaking, and sent out eighty volumes of reference to assist the revisers. An excellent colleague was lost in the Rev. Herbert Maundrell when the Church Missionary Society withdrew from the field, but there still remained the representatives of the London Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Norwegian Missionary Society, and the Society of Friends. The work was delayed in 1877 by the absence of Mr Cousins in England;[1] proceeded slowly in 1878, more rapidly in 1879, satisfactorily in 1881, when the New Testament was finished on the 18th November, and was still in progress at the close of this period of our narrative.

It is the twelfth year since Ránaválona laid the foundation-stone of the Palace Church, completed now in 1880; and high festival is held on the 8th April for the dedication. The Queen is there; appears in green and white satin, gleaming with gold and gems, but without the insignia of royalty ("Here, where even the slave of the slave is welcome, we are not to think of the Queen as Queen," says

[1] He was one of the speakers at the annual meeting on the 2nd May. In that year, it may be remembered, the son of the Prime Minister of Madagascar was the secretary of a juvenile Association in a Hampshire school.

Ránaválona). According to Malagasy custom, her richly carved pew is raised higher even than the pulpit; according to her own, a number of little children accompany her. Hymns are sung; prayers are offered by aged Christians, survivors of the martyr days; Adriambélo, who baptized her, preaches from Joel i. 2, 3. Then the Prime Minister tells how Ránaválona was led to Christ, and holds up to view "the very Bible which was blessed by the Spirit of God to change the mind of the Queen and make her love 'the praying.'" Prisoners are set free in honour of the event, and the chains are struck from the limbs of a number of Christians concerned in a conspiracy before the Queen's reign began and held prisoners ever since at distant garrison posts.

In these days Ránaválona is distressed by French aggression and a deep anxiety for the future of her people. Worse troubles are to come; but this glimpse of her in "the stone house which I built"—glittering in white and green, with a number of children about her, "as was her custom"—is the last we shall see of this good Queen.

In the autumn of 1882 her envoys were in Paris, protesting against the high-handed colonial policy of the French Government. They crossed to England on the same fruitless mission; and on the 1st December a deputation from the Committee waited upon them with an address of welcome, and took to the interview the patched and damp-stained copy of the Bible preserved through the cruel reign of Ránaválona I. and presented to the Bible House Library in 1870 by the Rev. Robert Toy of Antananarivo. Twenty years had gone by since the last Malagasy ambassadors appeared on the Society's platform, and experience had deepened the conviction of the debt which the nation owed to the Word of God. "That Word," said his Excellency Ravoninahitrianarivo, "we recognise as the true basis of all government, and we are desirous of seeing its influence

spread through the whole island. This old Bible"—and he laid his dusky hand on the relic of the martyr days—"is a monument and reminder of God's mercy to Madagascar. If this had not been kept through those dark years, perhaps all that has been done would not have been accomplished. And we remember, although this book has been so wonderfully preserved, that but for the labours and sacrifices of your Society, we should not have arrived at that point of Christian civilisation in which we now rejoice. Therefore, for all the efforts made by your Society, I beg to thank you in the name of my people and Government." Towards the end of January 1883, the envoys paid a return visit to the Bible House, where they were presented with handsome copies of the Scriptures in their native tongue.

By this time the Rev. James Sibree had completed the printing of a large "interim edition" (15,000 copies) of the Shilling Malagasy Bible, which included all the revised text that was ready and a greatly improved reading of the unrevised books; and, at the urgent request of the Madagascar Bible Committee, a sixpenny edition of the revised New Testament (25,000 copies) passed through the press under the care of the Rev. Charles T. Price. Unhappily, many months were to elapse before these supplies became available. For, in May, the French war-ships bombarded Majunga; Tamatave was captured in June; and in July, when the *Taymouth Castle* arrived off that port, the consignment of the interim edition could not be landed, and had to be taken on to Mauritius.

In the midst of these stormy events Ránaválona II. "turned away her face," and was succeeded by her niece Ránaválona III., then in her twenty-first year, and already for some time a widow. In her girlhood the new Queen had attended one of the mission schools; and at her coronation, in the presence of more than 250,000 Hovas, the royal canopy was decorated with texts from the inspired page, a

large Bible occupied a conspicuous position near the throne, and the Queen herself repeated the words of her predecessor, "I rest my kingdom upon God." As in the years of fiercer trial, strength and hope were found in reading of the mighty hand and outstretched arm of Jehovah. "Whether it be in the regular Sunday services," wrote Mr H. E. Clark of the Friends' Foreign Mission, "or in the special prayer meetings for their Sanin-drazana (fatherland), the people constantly choose the histories, in the Books of Kings or Chronicles, of God's deliverance of the Children of Israel to read and comment upon. This is done evidently with the full expectation that at the proper time God will appear on their side. Those Psalms also which contain cries for deliverance, or assurances that God will arise and come to the help of His people, have been special favourites during the year."

Meanwhile the work of revision was pressed steadily forward under an increasing sense of its importance. Hitherto the strong Jesuit missions had produced little effect in those districts where the seed of the Scriptures had already been sown, and it was felt that with a revised Bible in the hands of the people the Christians of England might with a lightened responsibility commit the island to such changed conditions as the providence of God should permit.

During this period, the Malagasy Scriptures printed by the Society amounted to 351,311 copies — namely, 40,335 Bibles, 100,948 New Testaments (with or without the Psalms), and 210,028 New and Old Testament Portions; but the outlay on the production and freight of these cannot be disentangled from the figures in the annual accounts. On the work of revision alone the expenditure exceeded £3453, and over £1160 was voted towards the cost of inland carriage and depôt expenses—a total of £4614, 5s. 9d.

We turn to Mauritius, from whose shores the missionary and the Hova exile had watched so long for the

breaking of a new day in Madagascar. The Auxiliary at Port Louis, which had been reorganised in 1852, enjoyed the patronage and co-operation of successive Governors and Bishops, but for a number of years its operations were impeded by a sequence of those calamities which gained for the island the title of *Maurice la malheureuse*. The population was decimated by the deadly epidemics of 1862 and 1867; harvests failed; and disastrous losses were inflicted by the cyclone of 1868.[1] In 1863-64 the sales of the Auxiliary dropped to 269 copies; no meeting was held; and for a time it seemed as though further effort would be abandoned. Better counsels prevailed, however, and the indebtedness to the Parent Society was cancelled; but it was not until 1870 that "the dark clouds were lined with a golden tint," and the work became more stable and regular.

Biblically the island was of exceptional interest. On no other spot upon the globe probably could there have been found, within equal limits, so remarkable an illustration of the range and variety of the Society's enterprise. Within its 700 square miles of tropical loveliness—an area considerably less than that of Surrey—Mauritius contained in 1870 a population of some 300,000 who required versions of the Scriptures in eleven languages—Hindi, Bengali, Uriya, Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Chinese, Malagasy, French, and English. In 1882, when the population had increased to 360,000, the Word of God was circulated in seventeen tongues; and two years later, as the period closed, the Committee undertook the publication of the Gospel of St Matthew in a form of speech hitherto unattempted—the Mauritian Creole, a sort of *lingua franca* common to 97 per cent. of the inhabitants.

From 1857 frequent grants of £60 were voted by the

[1] Besides the destruction of shipping and house property, the damage to the plantations was estimated at 60,000 tons of sugar, equivalent at £26 per ton to upwards of a million and a half of money.

Committee in aid of colportage. In 1872 the amount was doubled, and continued throughout the period. In all £1950 was expended in this manner. During the thirty years the Auxiliary transmitted £25 as a free contribution and £1138 on purchase account, and 97,054 copies were circulated. The highest point reached in any year—a sale of 9205 copies—was announced in 1876, when the chair was taken at the anniversary meeting by the Governor, Sir Arthur Phayre, and addresses in four languages were delivered to a large assembly of Creole, Tamil, Bengali, French, and English Christians.

Supplies were sent to the Isle of Bourbon in 1856 and 1881, and to the Seychelles in 1859 and 1876; but few opportunities were afforded for the spread of the written Word in these islands.

CHAPTER XXXV

SOUTH AFRICA

BETWEEN the Jubilee and the late sixties the work in South Africa broadened out slowly along the old lines of distribution and translation. Dutch and English Scriptures were shipped in thousands from the Bible House; as the needs of other nationalities became known supplies were forwarded in nearly a score of Western and Oriental tongues; and the progress of native versions kept the Committee in close touch with the missionaries. In the country itself the objects and claims of the Society were more widely advocated. Branches and Associations were formed. A warmer interest was awakened in the Presbyteries of the Dutch Reformed Church. New Auxiliaries were founded: in 1854 at Alice, near the well-known station of Lovedale; in 1855 at Pietermaritzburg and Durban (a little spot with barely 200 inhabitants five years before); in 1864 at King William's Town, the capital of British Kaffraria. In the interval the declining Auxiliary at Port Elizabeth was restored to its early vigour, thanks in no small measure to the efforts of the Society's old Secretary, Dean Mee of Grahamstown. For a long time the distribution of most of the Auxiliaries was comparatively small, but each additional depôt brought the Word of God nearer to a mixed and scattered population, and something was contributed yearly to assist the work in other lands.

Never had the Christian people in South Africa been in

better case to withstand the inroads of doubt and scepticism than in 1862, when Bishop Colenso published his Critical Examination of the Pentateuch and Joshua. The next annual meeting at Pietermaritzburg was made the occasion of an earnest demonstration on the part of all the Churches of their unshaken faith in divine revelation; but all such attacks, it was felt, were most effectually met by the diffusion of the inspired Book itself.

At the close of 1862 the South African Auxiliary completed the first £10,000 transmitted since its reorganisation in 1846 in payment of Scriptures and in free contributions. It had now eighteen Branches spread over the colony, and in Cape Town its Ladies' Association had just made a successful experiment with Biblewomen. In the next year Grahamstown had fifteen Branches, and a little later its Ladies' Association and colporteur. At Port Elizabeth, too, Ladies' Association and Biblewoman were busy, while in the upper districts of Natal numerous depôts indicated the activity of Pietermaritzburg.

We pass from the Auxiliaries to the native languages.

The second edition of the Xosa or Kaffir New Testament left the Wesleyan Mission press in 1854. It was speedily exhausted, and in 1859 the Bible Society's first edition, 6000 copies, appeared. In the autumn of the same year the Old Testament, which had been revised, and again and again revised, since its completion in 1834, was published in two volumes at Mount Coke. But the stocks of the eastern depôts and the supplies distributed among the English, Scotch, and German missionaries were vanishing like snow in the sun before the eager demand of the Xosa and Fingo Christians. In 1860 the Rev. J. W. Appleyard, who had edited both of the South African issues, returned to England with the entire version revised and ready for the press, and in 1864, 6000 New Testaments and 5000 copies of the first Xosa Bible in one volume were on their way to

every station in Kaffirland. The task had occupied nearly four years of constant labour, and the Committee voted £1000 to the Wesleyan Missionary Society towards meeting the outlay in which it had been involved. In spite, however, of all the care and scholarship which Mr Appleyard had expended on the text, little time elapsed before exception was taken to the version. In certain quarters criticism went so far as to suggest an entirely new translation; but the friendly counsels of the Committee prevailed, and with the hearty concurrence of Mr Appleyard a board of seven revisers, representing the highest linguistic skill in the colony, was appointed at a missionary conference, and the work of revision began in April 1869.

Amid the busy life at Kuruman—the numberless details of mission duties, the healing of the sick, the visits of travellers, the coming and going of dusky chiefs and tribesmen who were always at leisure—Mr Moffat found time for his translation of the Old Testament. The Committee sent out binding materials for the various Portions as they were ready to appear, and at last, with the help of his colleague, the Rev. W. Ashton, who printed with his own hands all but the Psalter and one sheet of Proverbs, the Sechuana Bible was finished. The last book left the press in 1857, twenty-seven years after the completion of the first Gospel.

More than once the wearied missionary had sought relief from the strain of study by long journeys into the interior. In 1857 the time appeared to have come for the establishment of a mission among the Matebele, and once more Moffat visited his old friend, the formidable Moselekatse. One curious glimpse we have of the rebel lieutenant of the great Zulu Chaka amid his warriors of a hundred fights.[1] "What

[1] The name of Chaka throws a welcome light over the tribes and tongues of these obscure regions. He was the founder of the military system of the Zulus. Moselekatse, one of his favourite generals, incurred his wrath, and fleeing with his *impi* into what is now the Transvaal, began to put a desert between himself and his terrible master. The Bapedi are the remnants of the tribes which escaped the Matebele, as they called the invaders, and these last Moselekatse forged into a new military dominion of the Zulu type.

are the writings which you have written since your last visit?" asked the King of kings, the Great Mountain, the Man-eater—"for you told me you had yet much to write of God's Word." Then the cunning white man who could weld thick bars of iron together showed him the second volume of the Old Testament. "He looked at it as one would look at a thing dropped from the moon. Turning leaf after leaf, 'I know the book can speak,' he said, 'because many years ago when you wrote to Ma Mary (Mrs Moffat) to send me things I wanted, those things came. But does God speak to you? Does He tell you what to write?'" And the missionary showed how he wrote only the words which God had spoken to the favoured men of ancient times. And when the savage chief gazed again at the open pages, wondering "Why cannot I understand it?" he was told of the letters which are "the seeds of reading," and of the great company of teachers in other lands who were writing the same words in many languages; and William the Griqua, who was instanced as one who had learned to read the Scriptures in Dutch, bore testimony: "O Man-eater, O great King, that book is the mouth of Jehovah! Only by that book can we hear what God speaks. Does not Moffat say so?"—for no subject, even a noble, dare utter his thoughts to his sovereign without an appeal to some one greater than himself. Consent was obtained for the establishment of the mission, and two years later Moffat and his new colleagues—of whom we shall hear again in the distant future—went northward on the waggon-track which soon became the beaten road of traders and hunters.

1863 and 1864 were spent in a laborious revision of the New Testament, and type was sent to Kuruman so that a clear and perfect copy might be produced for the English printers. Here, however, as elsewhere it was no easy thing to keep pace with the desires of the people. The demands for the Sechuana Scriptures, from all quarters

and for hundreds of miles round, became so pressing that the Committee ordered a reprint of the original edition, and in 1868 the dearth among the Bechuanas was relieved for a time by the appearance of 1000 volumes.

On a lovely February day in 1856, in the garden of the French mission at Morija, there is a gathering of nearly a hundred Basutos under the laden fruit-trees. Each man holds a volume in his hand, a Psalter from the 4000 printed at the expense of the Bible Society. The books have been presented as marks of encouragement, for this is the annual meeting of a company of native Christians who travel in fours and fives distributing the Scriptures and spreading the news of the Gospel among the two hundred and seventy-eight villages allotted to them. "The Basuto tribes seem to have turned over a new leaf." The young are eager to read and write. The congregations increase. Here at Morija there are three hundred church members, forty candidates for baptism, a great many inquirers; and among these last a cannibal chief and his wife. Through the South African Auxiliary the Committee this year bind 1000 New Testaments for the mission, and are eager to take up the Sesuto Old Testament, the first five books of which have just been completed by the Rev. J. Arbousset.

The bright record breaks off abruptly, for the struggle over disputed boundaries and old tribal territory has begun between the Free State and the Basutos, and does not end until the mountain strongholds have fallen, and Moshesh in despair offers his country and his people to Great Britain. One heard how the Word of God brought patience and comfort to men and women driven from their homes and exposed with their children to the winter cold on the open veldt. At the mission stations work went on, and the schools were kept open; but the old pioneer and translator, M. Arbousset, passed silently away, and his place at Morija was taken by the Rev. J. Mabille. In one of the pauses

of the strife Mabille sent a young Basuto from village to village to teach and read the Scriptures, but war broke out afresh, the young evangelist was shot, and as his captors dragged him down the mountain with a rope and were about to finish him, "You can kill my body," he cried, "but not my soul." In 1868 the Committee printed a revised edition of 5000 New Testaments; and steady progress was being made with the Sesuto Old Testament, which had been apportioned among eight translators of the French Protestant Mission.

Little and Great Namaqualand were the oldest and largest field of the Rhenish Missionary Society in South Africa; its stations stretched from Cape Town to Walfisch Bay; as early as 1825 the Gospels had been translated into Nama, yet little had been done to give these Hottentot tribes the Scriptures in their own language.[1] It was one of the most intractable, and the missionaries had given it up and used interpreters, but the Rev. G. Krönlein of Beersheba had mastered the "four singular smacking sounds" which baffled Europeans and held firmly by the great Mission principle "To every man the Word of God in his own tongue." After years of preliminary study he had completed a translation of the New Testament in 1863, and the Rhenish Society asked for aid in publishing it. The Committee readily voted £700, the translator came home to see it through the press, and in 1866, 4000 copies were printed, bound, and shipped to South Africa at the Bible Society's charge. When the ox-waggon was seen passing the sand-downs which inclosed the Beersheba station, the bell was rung, the school children marched out singing, young men on the church hill fired salutes, the people came with tears in their eyes to welcome back their "gei-kha-khaaol" (Old Pastor) and kiss his hands for joy. "Some were very eager to see the books;

[1] In 1859 the South African Auxiliary voted £10 each towards the printing of small books of Scripture extracts in Nama and Damara for use in schools.

others we had to persuade to use their own language," for, strangely enough, many of the Namaquas had come to look on their mother-tongue with aversion and disgust. But a destructive war between the northern and southern tribes was wasting the country; three mission stations had been abandoned and one destroyed, and it was Krönlein's task to bring the great chiefs near him into a league of Gospel peace.

So far had Bible-work advanced in South Africa up to 1869. During the fifteen years £16,949 (£12,561 purchase account, £4388 free contributions) had been received from the Auxiliaries. Of this total £11,227 came from the South African Auxiliary, whose free gifts amounted to £3829, and whose circulation exceeded 81,300 copies of Scripture.

It was still, however, a time of beginnings, when suddenly a sparkling pebble, the plaything of a Boer child, gave the clue to the Diamond pans near the Orange and Vaal Rivers, quickened every branch of industry with new life, and revolutionised the future of the country. On every highway into the interior were seen the waggon-trains of treasure-seekers. The rude but peaceful existence of farm and village gave place to an adventurous pursuit of fortune, in which, if ever man needed guidance and warning, the Divine Book had its mission. The Auxiliaries entered on larger operations. During the next decade and a half the amount they spent on the purchase of Scriptures rose from £12,000 to £18,000; and the South African Auxiliary whose rate of distribution increased by close on 10,000 copies every five years, attained the position of one of the great Continental Bible centres. Consignments of Scriptures were forwarded to correspondents at points nearest to the shifting throngs of jewel-seekers. When order was roughly established, the South African and Grahamstown Auxiliaries, assisted by the Home Committee, sent out each a colporteur to work among the flushed and

restless camps. The generosity of traders disposed of the difficulty and expense of transport. The Durban Auxiliary started a depôt at Potchefstroom, between the Diamond Fields and the gold-bearing ridges which had been discovered in the Transvaal; on the Fields themselves was opened a store at which one of the most affecting sights was the eagerness of Christian tribesmen who had come hundreds of miles to obtain employment and found here the Scriptures in their own speech; and later, when the hospital was founded at Kimberley, the Word of Life, in many languages, was read in its wards.

In the south a great demand sprang up for Oriental versions. In the sugar and coffee plantations which stretched for leagues along the coast of Natal[1] the missionary was busy among thousands of East Indian coolies. The sound of Hindustani and Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam told from what widely scattered homes they came; and the Scriptures in these and other Indian tongues were provided from the Bible House, and from Calcutta and Madras.[2] Some time later, in 1875, grants were needed for the Chinese and Creoles brought over from Mauritius.

In December 1871 the South African Auxiliary celebrated the completion of five-and-twenty years of service since its reorganisation, and the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, who had just become its patron, presided for the first time at the annual meeting. So far in South Africa all forms of Protestant belief had been drawn into united action by the Bible Society, but in 1872 some of the old-world objections to its work were raised at Grahamstown and Pietermaritzburg by persons who misconceived its objects and methods, or disapproved of the distribution of the Scriptures except

[1] The first sugar-canes were planted in 1852; in 1875 the coolie population was reckoned at 12,000.

[2] In 1883 we find a Tamil church with a Hindu pastor receiving annually £5 worth of Scriptures from Madras.

in conjunction with the oral teaching of the Church. The controversy only served to rally the supporters of the cause, and two years later, when the Grahamstown Auxiliary observed its fortieth anniversary, the unchanging and universal principle of the Society was warmly upheld by the Bishop (Dr Merriman) and the leaders of all denominations. In that year the circulation of Grahamstown with its fourteen Branches was something over 2000 copies, and it had distributed 43,185 volumes since its reconstruction in 1852.

A request was made from Paarl in 1874 for a version of the Scriptures in "the Taal," the curiously corrupt dialect which was said to have rendered the Dutch Bible a closed book for many thousands of the population. Upon careful investigation, however, translation into so retrograde a form of speech was happily proved to be unnecessary.

The Rev. Dr A. Faure, for twenty-seven years president of the South African Auxiliary, died in 1875, and was succeeded by the Hon. David Tennant, afterwards Sir David, Speaker of the House of Assembly. About the same time the Auxiliary at King Williamstown, which had become inactive, partly through the removal of some friends and the death of others, was revived at a special conference of missionaries; and a house of the value of £120 a year was placed at its disposal by a liberal supporter of religious movements. Another benefactor, Mr Joseph Maynard of Cape Town, left in 1877 a legacy of £750 to the Parent Society and £100 to the local Auxiliary.

In 1877-78, through the exertions of the Rev. Gustav Radloff, a Bible committee was formed under the sanction of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, and a depôt opened, in the capital of the Orange Free State. This was the last noticeable incident in the secretaryship of the Rev. George Morgan. A few months later he resigned and returned home, having held office, save for a brief interval,

since 1846—when Bloemfontein was yet a Boer farm.[1] His place was taken by the Rev. Dr Charles Hole, Rector of Holy Trinity Church, Cape Town.

Twice in the course of these years the Society made good large consignments of Scriptures which went down in the storms of Table Bay. Checks and discouragements were met with, but ever-increasing usefulness marked the routine of the Ladies' Committees and their Biblewomen. The railway tracks which were begun opened new roads for the colporteurs, and when the lines were finished the Bible was placed in the waiting-rooms of every station. Sunday schools, shipping, hospitals, jails shared in the numerous grants to correspondents and public institutions.

Early in 1878 Mr Theodore Harris of the Home Committee, and Messrs Isaac Sharp and Langley Kitching set out on an evangelistic tour in the colony. Mr Harris was suddenly recalled, but Cape Town, Mowbray, Stellenbosch, and Port Elizabeth were visited; and his companions, continuing their journey into the interior and far into Bechuanaland, returned by way of the Diamond Fields, the Basuto Missions, and Grahamstown *en route* for Natal and Madagascar. At Shoshong, midway between Kuruman and "the Smoke that sounds" (the Victoria Falls), they organised a Bible Association among the Bamangwato. King Khama consented to be patron, spoke at the inaugural meeting, and contributed to the value of £20. The amount was raised to £70 by the merchants and others, and some time afterwards the Rev. T. D. Hepburn forwarded another £100.

South Africa had now entered upon one of its stormiest and most critical periods. The Transvaal Republic, bankrupt, powerless to quell its internal disorders (the native tribes within and without watching their opportunity), was

[1] The Rev. Dr W. Robertson acted during the interval, 1874-76. The farm was made the headquarters of the British Resident in 1845, and so became the site of the future capital.

The Rev. John Sharp

annexed as a peril to the European population at large. A ninth Kaffir war broke out, and Xosa and Gaika measured their strength for the last time against the white man. The Zulu campaign followed with its disastrous episodes. The disarming of the Basutos set another country ablaze. Then, "on Dingan's day," 16th December 1880, the flag of independence was hoisted at Pretoria,[1] Majuba Hill became one of the tragic monuments of history, and a month later the Transvaal was again a Republic. Yet never were the operations of the Society more extensive and its financial position more prosperous than in these years of commercial depression, anxiety, and danger. In the thick of their cares busy men had time for the work. On the eve of the ultimatum to Cetewayo Sir Henry Bulwer presided at the meeting of the Pietermaritzburg Auxiliary, and Sir Bartle Frere moved the adoption of the report. After the Zulu power had been broken, the latter took the chair at the Cape Town anniversary, and reminded his hearers of what they owed to the brave free men of the Netherlands. "We in this colony, especially in this Society, should never forget that there was a time in England when preaching the Gospel in the language of the people was apt to lead the preacher to the martyr's stake, and when he who translated the sacred text into the mother-tongue of Englishmen dared not print it, but had to seek a safe place for printing in the cities of Holland. Here we find both nations now united in the same great work which united our fathers." Larger supplies of the Society's Reports were asked for; young people were stirred by the spirit which created Twigs and Blossoms, little girls sent in contributions of their own earning and collecting, and in 1880 Cape Town recorded its first Juvenile Association. The good understanding between the South African Auxiliary and the Dutch Reformed Synod helped to blunt the edge of racial

[1] At King Williamstown 3000 Testaments and Portions were distributed to the troops proceeding to the front.

asperity, and in 1882 the publication of the Dutch shilling Bible, which had been eagerly awaited, was another reminder of the single-heartedness of the Society.

In the native versions, if the progress was not rapid the results were the best that zeal and scholarship could produce. The board for the revision of the Xosa Bible began their work, as we have seen, in 1869, but three years later one of the most capable of their number, the Rev. Tiyo Soga, the first ordained minister of the Kaffir race, passed away, and in April 1874 Mr Appleyard died, just as the revision of the New Testament was finished. An edition of 5000 was printed, but the demand for the Xosa Scriptures became so urgent that in 1878-79 5000 Bibles (Appleyard's Old Testament with the revised New Testament) were hurried through the press. Then came the war with its tale of ruined stations, destitute missionaries, native refugees in hundreds who had lost their Bibles with the rest of their possessions; and the Committee were entreated to send out large supplies. Strangely enough, considering the disparagement of the old translation, there were thousands of native Christians, especially in Fingoland, north of the Kei River, who would not use the revised Testament on account of many of its words and idioms; and in compliance with the wishes of the South African Wesleyan Conference the Committee decided to print 2000 Bibles and 10,000 Testaments according to Appleyard's text, as well as 4000 Bibles with the revised New Testament for the tribes to whom it was acceptable. By January 1882 the revision of the Old Testament extended to half of Jeremiah, and tentative editions of Genesis and Exodus had been printed at Lovedale.

From the affinities of their tongues it was supposed for some time that a single Bible might suffice for the Xosa and Zulu peoples. Further knowledge showed the need for independent translations, and the Zulu version was undertaken by the American missionaries. A grant towards the

binding of a New Testament Portion was made by the Durban Auxiliary in 1865, and afterwards the Committee provided for the binding of two editions of the New Testament, and supplied printing paper for a version of the Old Testament and two Gospels by Dr Callaway, the gifted Bishop of St John's. In August 1882 Cetewayo was in England, about to be restored for the sake of peace in Zululand. He was invited to the Bible House, but other engagements intervened, and specimens of the Scriptures were sent to him that he might see how widely the Sacred Book was read by the peoples of South Africa. "Too old now to read," was the friendly answer; "but the children may be taught." One turbulent year was all that was granted him; but meanwhile the Zulu Bible was completed, and in 1883 the Society was able to take part in circulating the version.

Many years had now elapsed since Moffat occupied his solitary post at Lattakoo (Kuruman), and the members of other missions — Wesleyan, Hanoverian, and Dutch Reformed—had been long enough in the field to take part in the work of translation. A board was accordingly formed in 1869 for the revision of the Sechuana version, and paper and binding materials were provided for yet another 2000 copies of the New Testament, to be printed according to a system of orthography then under consideration. In July 1870 the aged pioneer returned to England, and at once devoted himself to the proof-reading of a new edition. At that moment, to use his own words, there was not a Bible or Testament in all Bechuanaland. As quickly as the press could deliver them, large consignments of the Bible and New Testament were on their way to an overjoyed people. Six miles round the mountain a crowd accompanied the first waggon-load. "I cannot say that I sold all the Bibles at one sitting," wrote Mr Price from Molepolole, "for the people did not give me the chance to sit." In a few minutes

the books were gone, and men came running in, only to "ithuala negono"—put "hands on head," in sign of their distress that none were left. So rapid was the sale at the numerous mission stations that the editions ran out, and 4000 more Bibles, printed under the care of the Rev. Roger Price, Moffat's son-in-law, and the Rev. J. Brown, were shipped in 1877. During the Zulu war and the rising for the independence of the Transvaal the Bechuanas were harassed by Boer marauders, but the cry still came for the Word of God, and in 1883 the Committee issued 15,000 New Testaments.

On the 9th August that year, at the age of eighty-seven, "that venerable and beloved patriarch of missionaries," Dr Robert Moffat,[1] fell asleep in Christ at Hildenborough in Kent. Time had not quenched the fire of his high spirit, infirmity scarcely touched his fervid speech, "which, like the cadences of an ancient bard, awakened sympathetic echoes in the minds of delighted auditors."[2] During his last years he took part in many an annual gathering of the country Auxiliaries, and a few months before his death he was present at the anniversary meeting in Exeter Hall. No one prized the Bible Society more, or insisted more strongly on the Bible as a living power in the world. One incident which he used to relate vividly summed up a savage's estimate of its influence on the nature of the savage:—

"I met an elderly man who looked very downcast. I said to him, My friend, what is the matter? Who is dead?' 'Oh,' he said, 'there is no one dead.' 'Well, what is the matter? You seem to be mourning.' The man then scratched his head, and said, 'My son tells me that my dog had eaten a leaf of the Bible.' 'Well,' I said, 'perhaps I can replace it.' 'Oh,' said the man, 'the dog will never do any good; he will never bite anybody; he will never catch any jackals, he will be as tame as I see the people become who believe in that book. All our warriors become as gentle as women—and my dog is done for!'"

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[1] Edinburgh University conferred the degree of D.D. in April 1872.
[2] Stoughton, *History of Religion in England*, vol. viii. p. 292.

Nearly fifty years had gone since the Society voted him its first grant in March 1834.

About this time appeared at Valdezia (Spelonken), in the northern Transvaal, a selection of passages from the Old Testament and the Gospels, the first attempts at Bible translation into another African tongue, by M. Paul Berthoud of the Canton de Vaud Mission. Of the language which was known as Gwamba we shall hear more in a later chapter.

Word came too from Inyati, far away in Matebeleland; a few Dutch Bibles and Testaments were needed for Boer settlers, and English Scriptures for the traders and hunters. The Matebele were still savages of the shield and assegai; not a convert among them after twenty years of mission-work. "As soon as a man was found learning to read, he was spirited away into another part of the country, and never allowed to come near a mission station again."

At Morija M. Mabille and his colleagues made rapid progress with the Sesuto Old Testament, and in the early seventies large quantities of paper and binding materials were voted for its serial publication. The revised text of the New Testament was shortly afterwards brought home, and an edition of 16,500 copies appeared in 1876. The French Mission was in the flush of happy enterprise. There were out-stations in the Orange Free State, out-stations in No Man's Land beyond the Drakenberg, catechists posted among strange peoples near the Limpopo; and one bold pioneer had traversed a thirsty land between the Limpopo and Zambesi to tribes—not named, unfortunately—who kept one day of rest in seven and "entertained the hope of a great chief's sure return after having been put to death and risen again from the tomb." Beyond the Zambesi "Brother Coillard" was guided—almost divinely, it seemed—to the Barotse, one of the tribes subdued by Livingstone's friend, the Makololo chief Sebituane. They had since driven out

their old masters, but still spoke their language, Sesuto; for the Makololo were Basuto who had "swarmed" northward in some bygone time of intestine strife. "All our books may do for this new field," wrote Mabille; "no new language to learn, no fresh customs to study."

And a society had been started, under the auspices of a conference of missionaries and Dutch Reformed ministers, for colportage among the tribes in the Free State—Batlapen, Basuto, Koranna, Baralong, Makolohue, nearly all of whom spoke Sesuto.[1] At the Boer farms, where old prejudices were feared, the colporteur was made welcome, was allowed to call the native hands together, was surprised at times by a gift of a few shillings towards his expenses. "There is just now (1877) a hunger after the Book of God. Think of men travelling sixty, eighty, a hundred miles and more to come to us here in Basutoland for books; of men sending waggon and oxen seventy miles to fetch a missionary to open a chapel built by their own hands, though they had no one to preach to them!"

In 1880 M. Mabille returned to France with the Old Testament—printed locally in the first instance, and now revised by his colleagues of the Paris Evangelical Mission. While the native Christians rallied round their pastors when one chief or another rose against the mandate to disarm, 10,000 copies of the first Sesuto Bible and 5000 small reference Testaments passed into circulation.[2] Services of joy and thanksgiving were held at all the French mission centres in September 1883. At Morija a congregation of 1200 gathered in the sun-flecked shade of the wide-spreading willows. Just fifty years ago the missionaries had been settled on this spot by the brave young chief Moshesh. At that time the man-eaters' haunts still existed, the blood of their victims was still wet on the rocks round their caverns;

[1] The Committee contributed £50 to the project and granted 50 per cent. discount on Scripture sold.

[2] These editions were stereotyped, and the Society's outlay on their production was about £4000.

and the Basutos were reminded of the many and great tokens of love their tribe had received at the hands of God since His servants first entered the land. Bibles were presented to the evangelists of the thirteen out-stations of Morija. One of the elders called his wife from the congregation to come and stand by his side, and, with tears running down their faces, he laid £1 on the table, and entreated God to accept and bless it as the first little stone of a new house of prayer in some distant part of their field.

Turning to the Nama version, we find that Mr Krönlein completed his translation of the Psalter and saw an edition of 3000 through the press at Cape Town in 1872. Settling among the oak-trees and rose-hedges of Stellenbosch, he devoted himself to the translation of the whole of the Old Testament. Mr Harris met him there, and they discussed the doubts that had been raised as to proceeding with the work. The Namaqua were an insignificant people, the future of their language was uncertain, and they themselves had a singular aversion to its use ; but the German maintained that Gospel truth struck deeper into the heart of a people through the mother-tongue than through any other. The Committee thought so too, and the translator's services were retained for the completion of the version. The Rhenish missionaries preferred to wait for the whole volume rather than have the separate books, and in 1881, "on Tuesday, October 25, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the last verse of Malachi was penned." But the doubts we have mentioned and other arguments prevailed, and the Committee decided to "postpone the whole matter for perhaps five years," when it might be easier to reach a decision.

In 1859, it will be remembered, the South African Auxiliary assisted the printing of Damara Scripture extracts for use in mission schools. The language was the Otji-Herero of "the Cattle Damara" negro tribes, among whom the Rhenish missionaries had laboured since

1843. The Psalter in Herero was translated by the Rev. H. Brincker of New Barmen (Otjikango), and in 1875 the Auxiliary published 2000 copies at an outlay of £120. Four years later an edition of the New Testament was printed under Brincker's care in Germany at the charge of the Society.

At the close of this period there were in South Africa seven Auxiliaries,[1] with forty-seven Branches and numerous Associations. During the thirty years £31,221 was forwarded to London on purchase account and £15,026 in free gifts, a total of £46,247. Of this sum £31,256 (£12,271 free) was received from the South African Auxiliary, which circulated 217,576 copies of Scripture from 1854 and 247,332 from its reorganisation in 1846.

The amount received for sales from correspondents and missionary societies is not ascertainable. An expenditure on native versions of at least £4700 can be traced, but it is not clear whether the whole, or how much, of the £4000 spent on the later Sesuto editions should be added to this figure.

In March 1884 Dr Hole, the new secretary, set out on a nine months' journey through the wide provinces of the Bible Society. In one of its early stages he visited the hospitable Moravians at Genadendal. This was their oldest seat, and it was one of pleasant memories. Their pioneer George Schmidt had settled in the green valley among the brown treeless hills in 1737; there he had planted his wonderful pear-tree;[2] there his work had been brought to a standstill. When the Brethren were allowed to resume it, nearly fifty years later, the place was called Bavians' Kloof from the baboons which had taken possession of the great pear-tree. These they dislodged, and made their home near Schmidt's garden and the ruins of the old

[1] The South African (Cape Town), Port Elizabeth, Graham's Town, East London, the British Kaffrarian (King William's Town), Natal (Pietermaritzburg), and Durban.
[2] Vol. i. p. 130.

house. On Christmas Eve 1792 the Hottentots brought in from a distant village a little keen-eyed woman of four-score, too feeble to walk. It was Helena, one of the converts whom Schmidt had baptized. She told them many things of the old missionary, how he had left them his Testament—a little Dutch volume in black-letter, printed in Holland in 1694,—and how, long after he had gone, they used to meet under the pear-tree to read it. In time the missionaries took in some acres of the wild veldt, and laid it out as a burial-ground; and Brother Rose planted it with trees, and wrote his name round it, as it were, in a hedge of roses. A church was built in 1799, but the pear-tree, as we know, remained for years a place of praise and prayer. Then, on New Year's Day 1806 the name of the mission station was changed from Bavians' Kloof to Gnadenthal or Genadendal, "the Vale of Grace." "This is an interesting relic," said Brother Hettaasch to Dr Hole; and he showed him a small oblong box, opened it, and took out a copy of the New Testament. The box had been made of the wood of the old pear-tree; the book was the Dutch black-letter volume of 1694, which Schmidt had given to Helena.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WEST AFRICAN COASTS

With flag flying at half-mast, a ship from Lagos dropped anchor before Freetown on the 26th December 1854, and a few hours later the coffin of Dr Vidal, first Bishop of Sierra Leone, Vice-President of the Society, and president of the Sierra Leone Auxiliary, was borne through the green-swarded streets. In the flower of his manhood—he was but thirty-five — in the midst of bright hopes and expectations, he died at sea on Christmas Eve, while returning from a visit to the Yoruba churches. His brief career was a vivid reminder of those changes, losses, bereavements, which derange and obscure the story of Bible-work on the miasma-stricken coasts of West Africa. As in the past, so in the next thirty years, there were breaks of continuity and intervals of silence, but the great cause survived through all vicissitudes. Like the red thread in the tackle of the British Navy, Scripture distribution and translation ran through the strands of every missionary enterprise.

In Sierra Leone and on the Gambia River the circulation of the Scriptures was stimulated by the activity of the Romish priests. More than ever, if that were possible, the Bible was made the book of the schools; and in addition to the English version, which was used among the people, considerable supplies in Arabic were sent out from time to time. Whatever the cause — curiosity, reverence, or some perception of the divine light — a demand continued for the

sacred volume among the Arab chiefs and Moorish traders from countries on the verge of the Great Desert; and copies were carried inland, as far, it was rumoured, as Timbuctoo, Bambarra, and Sego. Through the exertions of the Rev. J. Bridgart, the secretary at Freetown, an Auxiliary was founded at Bathurst on the Gambia in 1858; the Governor accepted office as president, and £50 was sent home for the purchase of Scriptures and as a free gift. Within twelve months Mr Bridgart was dead; dead, too, the beloved Dr Bowen, another Vice-President of the Society, and the third Bishop of the colony in eight years.

In 1863 the Scriptures needed for Sierra Leone came in value to £286; the secretary reported that not only was he never refused a contribution, but that in many instances subscriptions were doubled; and the circulation reached 2760 copies. Of that number 1535 had been circulated by a native colporteur under the direction of Miss Freymuth of the Church Missionary Society, who was seeking for a suitable Biblewoman.

On 16th May 1866 half a century had gone by since the Auxiliary was established by the Rev. E. Bickersteth and Governor M'Carthy. In the first five-and-twenty years £1108 had been transmitted in free gifts and £131 in payment of Scriptures; in the second the reversed figures, £568 in free contributions and £2151 on purchase account, indicated the ever-widening desire for the possession of the Word of Life. A jubilee gift of £200, including £50 for the New Bible House fund, raised the money transactions of the fifty years to £4158, and during that time 47,111 copies had been circulated.

The future was to have its checks and difficulties. The plan of colportage fell through; and in consequence of some unhappy understanding in 1868 the Wesleyan congregation started an independent scheme of free contribution, which in the course of several years realised £233. An interesting

figure, Archdeacon Crowther, son of Adjai the Yoruba slave boy, presided at the anniversary of the Auxiliary in 1877; and in 1878, thanks to the good offices of Bishop Cheetham and the Rev. N. Godman, General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions, all denominational differences were composed on the common platform of the Society.

The death of friends, missionary changes, and local troubles brought about the decline of the Bathurst Auxiliary. The supply of the Scriptures for the people and the schools was maintained. At intervals there were prospects of revival. In 1871 a public meeting was held and a small collection taken; and ten years later a native colonial chaplain proposed the formation of a committee and the opening of a depôt, but the auspicious hour had not yet struck. Out of the dusky lands on the edge of the Desert, however, the caravans still brought down requests for the Arab Bible. In the neighbourhood of Bathurst the principal tribes were the Fulahs, Jolofs, and Mandingos — races as striking as the Bedouin in feature and form. For the Mandingos the Gospels had been translated as early as 1837, but for the only Gospel published there was little or no demand. Jolof (Wolof, Volof, or Oulof), the tongue of 50,000 people between the Gambia and the Senegal, had now been reduced to writing, and in 1881 the Gospel of St Matthew, translated by the Rev. R. Dixon, revised by a native local preacher and tested by use at divine service, was sent home. In the following year a tentative edition of 500 copies was placed at the disposal of the Wesleyan Mission.

As the period closes we find the Bishop co-operating with the Wesleyan brethren for the greater efficiency of the Auxiliary at Freetown; Hebrew Bibles are voted to theological students; grants are distributed to the hospital and jail; and a donation of £25 comes from "A native of Sierra Leone." During the thirty years Sierra Leone sent to the Bible House nearly £4414 (£1461 free, £2953

purchase); Bathurst, £154, of which £137 was in payment of Scriptures.

At Port Lokkoh the Church Missionary Society came in touch with men of the powerful Temne tribe, which spread south and east of Sierra Leone. A version was begun by the Rev. C. F. Schlenker; a small edition of St Matthew was published in 1865; and though few of the people had mastered their letters, the missionaries were able to read to them the Gospel in their native speech. The whole of the New Testament and Genesis were published in portions by 1868, and in 1869 the Temne Psalter left the press.

South of the Temnes lay the territory of the Mendes. For these turbulent pagans St Matthew had been translated by the American missionaries on their border; but with the assistance of a tribesman, a new version of Matthew with Mark and John was made by the Rev. J. F. Schön, one of the ablest of the C.M.S. missionaries. Luke was added, and in 1872 the Four Gospels left the press. An ordained African, the Rev. H. Johnson, prepared Acts and Romans, which were issued in the same year; and though at that date the rest of the New Testament was in MS., no other portion seems to have been printed.

The negro Republic of Liberia was an American Bible and mission field, but every four or five years supplies of English Scriptures, with a few copies in Arabic for the Mohammedan traders, were sent out by the Society on the application of friends. A grant of 2000 Portions was consigned to Monrovia in 1864 for free distribution among schools and destitute families; and in the later seventies, several cases, despatched to Grand Bassa, excited a brisk demand for "the best and cheapest book ever sold."

The work deepened in interest along the sweeping curves of the Gold and Slave Coasts. From Accra and Christianborg to Kitta extended the Basel and Bremen Missions, with the Volta flowing as a boundary between them. Their tendency

was towards the interior, and on both sides of the river stations were planted for sixty miles inland. To the westward, and mainly along the seaboard, lay the Wesleyan field; far to the east the Church Mission was at Lagos, with the Yoruba churches in the hinterland. A revised edition of the first Accra (Gâ) Gospels was published at the Jubilee; in 1855 Zimmermann's Mark and Luke were in circulation; and year after year books of the Old and New Testament were sent home to be printed at Basel for the Committee. In 1859 the New Testament was completed. By the end of 1861 the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Psalms, Proverbs, and Daniel had been issued as separate Portions; and a revised edition of the New Testament had left the press.

On the coast and in the upland bush villages the knowledge of letters was spreading with such effect that "our fetich priests," wrote Zimmermann, "dreaded the primers and the little books" even more in dusky than in white hands. Little black children of eight or ten read the Gospel with a fluency and correctness which made him envious; in the seminary at Akropong there were youths from the Gâ and Tshi tribes who had learned to read and write their own tongue without attending a school; and, with the ability to read, the lives of women had been cheered and solaced by the light of the Divine Word. "They never could have managed the English," and that fact, he thought, should convince the missionary at least, that those who deemed themselves the stoutest opponents of the Papacy placed themselves, by cleaving to their own language, side by side with the Romish priest and his Latin.

In 1862 Zimmermann pressed forward with the remaining parts of the Old Testament. His little daughter, born when "the Jubilee was at the doors," was now ten years old; there was a brother, too, of eight; and these small Bible polyglots, deeply interested in the progress of the version, helped the translator to check his Gâ text with the

English and the Hebrew. The Books of Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were carried through with wonderful celerity; the final chapters were translated at Odumese in the Grobo country in 1865, and in 1866 appeared the Gâ Bible, made up of the different instalments bound in four volumes. Interrupted by repeated sickness, and many duties, but cheered by the example of Moffat, who with "twice the number of my years of service still found the same trouble and difficulty in his work, and had as little leisure for it," the stout-hearted missionary pursued his revision for three years amid the din of a heathen village—the firing of guns for hunting and burial, the beating of drums for the dance or for war — until in 1870 the corrected copy of the New Testament was ready for the printers.

Meanwhile, as far back as 1855 his colleague, the Rev. J. G. Christaller, had translated the Gospel of Matthew into Otshi or Tshi, the language of Ashanti, spoken along the western Gold Coast and far inland by 5,000,000 people. No version work had till then been attempted in that far-ranging tongue, but the way had been prepared by the grammar and vocabulary of his predecessor Riis. In 1857 the Four Gospels and the Acts were in the press, and in March 1858 Christaller returned in shattered health to Basel, and, on his recovery, the books appeared in 1859. The Psalter was begun by another colleague at Akropong, but he too was invalided. Genesis, Romans, and the Epistles of St John appeared in 1861, and in the following year Christaller was strong enough to return to his post. In 1864 the whole of the New Testament was circulating in Portions, and revision was started in view of its publication in a single volume. In 1865 the Psalms were published, and the translator left his comparatively healthy station for Kyebi in the interior to acquire the purer Akem dialect. His beloved wife succumbed to the deadly climate; his own health again gave way; but before he withdrew from the

Mission in 1868 the version was finished, and he had the satisfaction of seeing through the press in 1870 and 1871 the Otshi Testament and Bible, through which his work in Africa is a living thing to this day.

Several New Testament Portions in Ewé,[1] translated by the Bremen missionaries and printed at the expense of the Bremen Bible Society, were in circulation in 1861, but further progress was checked for some years by the death of the translator and his successor. The language, the third great tongue of the Gold and Slave Coasts, ranged east from the Volta and included the kingdom of Dahomey, while the tribes which used it, more numerous even than the Tshi, extended northward 200 miles into the interior. Like their languages, the Tshi, Gâ, and Ewé-speaking negro races apparently sprang from a common stock, and a common principle underlay their savage religious systems. In each man (as in tree and river and all created things) there was an indwelling spirit — the *Kra* — which existed before his birth and which survived him, re-embodied or houseless; but after death the man still existed as a *Srahman*, a shadow in a world of shadows. So strong was the faith in this second life that messengers were sent, by the way of the grave, to announce the great doings of kings in the markets of the dead, to tell the phantom travellers on the phantom roads and the phantom fishermen on the phantom waters; and an antelope was despatched, in the final sense of the word, to prepare the dream-antelopes in the forests of dream, and a monkey to the ghosts of monkeys in the ghostly mangrove-swamps.[2] Such were the people who were being led to Christ by the Word of God in their own strange speech.

Notwithstanding the disturbed condition of the country, the Ashanti attacks and Fanti reprisals, since 1866, the

[1] Variously known as Evhe, Eweghe, Azighe, and Krepe.
[2] *See* Ellis, *The Ewé-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, *passim*.

knowledge of the Scriptures spread, and new congregations sprang up along the Volta River. But suddenly in 1869 the beautiful mountain station of Anum was sacked and destroyed; Ho, the nearest Bremen station, shared the same fate; and the Rev. F. Ramseyer of the Basel Mission, his wife and child, and two of the younger brethren were dragged in bonds to Kumassi. In the time of strife and confusion which ensued, there was solace in the thought that "the plough of the Lord was breaking the vast fields for the seed which we are sowing in tears." The 10,000 Akuapems and Krobos who marched from the Basel district included a band of Christians—a modern "Thundering Legion"—under their own flags, with their Otshi and Gâ Testaments, their catechists and native pastor.

After four years' captivity, during which their fate was often doubtful, the missionaries were released when Sir Garnet Wolseley captured and burned "the charnel-house of Kumassi." But the little child had died "under the Kum tree," and amid the ruins of that capital of sorcery and bloodshed Ramseyer undertook to found a mission station,[1] and lived to present a Bible to King Mousa. Another outpost was planted near the pretty mountain town of Begoro on the Ashanti border; Ho had been reoccupied by the Bremen men; and in 1875 one of the Basel brethren ventured to Anum. The dense growth of the tropics had overwhelmed it, but the natives guided him, and they cut their way through bush and jungle grass to the green mounds of the ruined town. The friendliness of the people gave him hope that Anum might be restored, and "the years of labour spent there by many of them not spent in vain."

Still weak from a long and dangerous illness, Zimmer-

[1] The prohibition of human sacrifice was one of the conditions of the treaty of peace, but seven years later, in 1881, two hundred girls were massacred in order that "medicine" mortar might be mixed with their blood for the repair of the royal palace.

mann was engaged on the revision of the Old Testament in 1876. He had reached the tenth chapter of the first Book of Kings, and "hoped by the grace of God to finish also this work and to see the Gâ Bible printed in one volume." But it was sundown in a long day.[1] One of his last letters expressed his thanks to the Society for the noble assistance it had given, and the hope and trust that as the mango-tree which they had brought from the West Indies in 1843 had reached far beyond any missionary journey, so the Word of God, far outrunning them, would spring up in the heart of the African. He returned to Europe in the same year, utterly broken down, and a few months later came word of the death of "our dear brother Zimmermann." His work was taken up by Christaller, whose linguistic abilities had just been honoured by the Institute of France with "a golden diploma of the value of 300 francs," but many years passed before any new Gâ edition appeared in the Society's list.

Translations of Genesis, the Psalms, and the Four Gospels into Ewé had in the meantime been issued by the Bremen Mission. At their request the Committee published Joshua, Judges and Ruth, and the Epistles of Paul, Peter, James, and Jude in 1875; and between the printing of Exodus and of the Books of Kings, an edition of the New Testament, made up of several Portions, appeared in 1877.

Among the Yoruba the Word of God had become a passion. So eager was the demand that an edition of 5000 was required when the revised text of Luke, Acts, and the Epistles of James and Peter was printed in 1856. Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, by the Rev. S. Crowther, were also issued, and the Fourth Gospel, by the Rev. T. King, another African Churchman, followed in 1857. Then in 1859, at a crowded gathering, a Bible Auxiliary was formed for Abeokuta, capital of the Egba country. As the collectors passed

[1] He had spent twenty-six years in Africa, broken by a single visit home.

among the enthusiastic people, silver coins tinkled among the cowrie shells, and again and again the contents of the great calabashes were emptied in a heap on the ground. The first collection for the Society realised close upon £23 —£7, 12s. 6d in coin, and 334,840 cowries, "less 2040, the expense of counting them." The MS. of Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians—Mr King's last service to his countrymen — was sent home in 1860; and in that year began one of the most stirring episodes in Mission history. War, the crafty ambushes and the murderous raids of the savage, broke out between Ibadan and Egba, and the bloodthirsty hordes of Dahomey took the field against Abeokuta. Ishagga was burned to the ground; the native Christians were massacred;[1] and as the great white Queen seemed to have forgotten her love for the people "under the Rock," the King of Dahomey prepared to destroy the city utterly and exterminate the white Christians with the black. The Governor of Lagos, who sided with the Ibadans, warned Europeans to return to the coast; the missionaries refused to abandon their converts, and the Lagos road was closed. Neither ammunition nor supplies could reach the doomed city.

All that winter (1862-63) prayer meetings were held throughout England to intercede for the safety of Abeokuta. And the Christians in the city prayed, great in faith. In the dark the voice of one woman was heard: "Thou didst deliver Hezekiah and his people from the hand of Sennacherib, who blasphemed Thy holy name. Do also remember us, O Lord; remember Thy Church; remember Thy servants; remember our children." In Yorubaland as in England the doom of

[1] One man was publicly crucified at Abomey. Another, Doherty, the negro catechist, the King kept to read the Scriptures to him. When the savage tired, he ordered his slave to be killed, with his book in one hand and a lamp in the other — a lighted messenger to bear the Gospel tidings to the *srahman* of the last king in the world of phantoms. The executioner mistook his victim, and Doherty lived to resume his work as catechist.—Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol ii. pp. 435-439.

Sennacherib was in men's minds. Then a strange thing befell. The power of Dahomey lay over against the city; four or five small towns in the district were trampled out, and the skulls of the slain carried off to adorn the royal palace; but night after night passed, and no wild rush was made to storm the gates of Abeokuta. What happened on the sixteenth night was never known, but morning broke over a silent and deserted camp.

It was not surprising that in the day of their deliverance the people should have crowded in their holiday attire to a Bible Society meeting. Hymns of the Divine Word —"Holy Bible," "Precious Bible, what a treasure"—were sung with fervour, and an address on Deuteronomy xxviii. was listened to with vivid remembrance of past experiences. The offerings, heaped on the floor before the pulpit, exceeded £20, 10s.—gold, silver, copper, and 222,000 cowries, which it required eleven strong men to carry away.[1]

In March of 1864 the host of Sennacherib returned. The brunt of the assault was borne by the Egba Christians. Assyria was smitten hip and thigh, and thousands of the terrible Amazons were left dead on the field. "He bears a charmed life; bullets cannot hurt him;" said the heathen townsmen as they spoke of the Christian balogun, or war-chief; "the white teachers have given him 'medicine.'" "True," he answered, showing them his New Testament, "and I will give you the same 'medicine.'"

Peace with Dahomey was restored in 1865; the Lagos trade route was opened on the appointment of another Governor; and these happier events were crowned by the publication of the Yoruba New Testament, which had been completed in serial form three years earlier. Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy were issued at intervals, and

[1] The Yoruba Mission paper, *Iwe Irohin*, called attention to the sovereigns, half-sovereigns, five-franc gold piece, dollars, half-crowns, florins, and smaller silver and copper coins, 187 in all, as indicating the progress of civilised life.

in 1867 the first volume of the Old Testament, Genesis–Ruth, was printed.

Though Abeokuta had been saved by its Christian warriors, the whole number of converts was but a handful in its population of 150,000. The people were still bitter with resentment against their isolation from the sea, Moslem hostility and heathen intrigue were at work, and suddenly on a Sunday in September 1867 divine worship was stopped by the Egba chiefs. The prohibition fired the savagery of the negro mob. The churches were attacked, the mission houses plundered; the Anglican, Wesleyan, and Baptist missionaries were driven out; and thirteen years elapsed before they were allowed to reside again in the city which had so long been dear to English hearts.

But the Written Word remained, and the Yoruba congregations prospered under the native pastors. When tribal animosities once more divided the people the Christians of Ibadan and Abeokuta, remembering that they were "followers of the Prince of Peace," exchanged gifts of kola-nuts and salt, the tokens of goodwill and of its preservation from decay.

We return to the coast. The slaver-king of Lagos had been dethroned in 1861, and the British flag hoisted over the island. Two years later Zimmermann suggested that the time was ripe for the Wesleyan, Basel, Bremen, and Episcopal Missions to combine in the formation of a West African Auxiliary. Others felt the same need, and in 1864 the Lagos Auxiliary was founded. In 1869 the price of the Yoruba New Testament and Genesis–Ruth, which had cost 3s. 9d., was reduced to 1s., with the result that few who were able to read were any longer destitute of the Word of God. Sermons were preached and collections made on behalf of the Society. At the annual meeting in 1876 it was stated that the Scripture issues in Yoruba amounted in all to 31,757 copies. In the following year the Auxiliary, hitherto entirely

controlled by the missionaries, was reorganised so as to include an influential lay element, and the increase in free contributions showed the wisdom of the change.

From 1864 to 1884 Lagos transmitted £1284 to the Bible House (£671, free; £613 on purchase account). Between 1859 and 1864 Abeokuta contributed £50. Sierra Leone, during the whole period, sent £4414—£1460 free, and £2954 purchase; £233 was received from the Wesleyan congregations; and £154 (£17 free) came from the Gambia River. In all £6135.

An edition of the Yoruba New Testament and Psalms, revised by Bishop Crowther and a Lagos committee, was printed in 1879 under the care of the Rev. D. Hinderer, the heroic captive of Ibadan; and the Old Testament was passing through the press as the period closed.

Westward from Lagos, behind the tawny sandbanks which break the plunge of the Atlantic rollers, lies Whydah, the port of Dahomey. The white sails used to pass, unaware of the town hidden among the lagoons and wildwood, until Kpati and Kpasi, with more than mortal ingenuity, contrived a long stick and fluttering cloth, which brought a ship to anchor. Kpati and Kpasi were remembered as benevolent gods long after the caravan route ran through the dense forest, across the swampy levels, and over the undulating plain of Abomey, "the City of Skulls." Within Abomey's ramparts of thorny acacias the skull was everywhere—over the doorways, in the walls, on standards, drums, umbrellas, walking-staffs. From the footstool of the king to the white polished drinking-cups hanging from the girdles of his women, the death's-head was the symbol of power and barbaric splendour; the evidence, too, of unutterable human anguish and blood poured out like water.

"And He, bearing His cross, went forth into a place called The place of a skull."

In 1881 a devoted Nottingham friend of the Society offered

£10 a quarter for two years in aid of Bible translation in Gu (Popo), the language of Dahomey, which prevailed from the Volta to the meridian of Lagos. At Porto Novo, about midway between Lagos and Whydah, the Wesleyan missionaries had long been at work. One of them, the Rev. T. J. Marshall, himself a Dahomian, reduced the language to writing; a native translation committee was appointed; and in 1883 the Gospel of St Matthew was in manuscript.

When Christaller finished his version, it seemed to him that Otshi (Ashanti), with the Bible as its basis, would become the one written tongue of the tribes using the allied dialects of the Gold Coast and the hinterland. But Fanti, the speech of the Cape Coast Castle region and of 2,000,000 people, was too important to be neglected. In 1883 the New Testament had been translated as far as the Epistles of St John by a member of the Wesleyan Mission, the Rev. A. W. Parker, whose father had been a fetich-worshipper, and the Committee gladly added this new tongue to its Bible languages.

We need but note the free grants to schools, the gifts of Hebrew and Greek books to mission students, the Scriptures in English and German, French and Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish, Italian and Arabic sent out to these shores for seamen, European merchants, and traders from the interior, before passing to another field of Christian activity.

Thirteen years after the luckless expedition of 1841,[1] Dr Baikie and the Rev. Samuel Crowther ascended the Niger to where it forks with the Binue or Tshadda, 230 miles from the sea. From the far north-west came the "white water" of the Kworra (the Niger proper); but the *Pleiad* steamed due east; the "black water" of the Tshadda was explored for 400 miles; everywhere the natives were found willing to receive Christian teachers;

[1] Vol, ii. p. 294.

and in July 1857 the *Dayspring* started with the first party of the C.M.S. Niger Mission. Onitsha and Gbebe were planted; a few years later work was begun at Bonny and Brass in the delta, at Asaba, north of Onitsha, and at Lokoja at the confluence; and in 1864 the slave-boy Adjai was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral first Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa.

Yoruba was spoken on the banks of the Niger as far north as Boussa, where Mungo Park fell; but Hausa, the great *lingua franca* of the Soudan, would carry you, said Crowther, from Lagos to Tunis or Tripoli. Luke and Matthew, the Acts and Genesis in Hausa had been prepared years ago by the Rev. J. F. Schön, who accompanied the expedition of 1841, and three New Testament Portions were now printed in time for the voyage of the *Dayspring*. Genesis was issued shortly afterwards; the New Testament in Portions was concluded in 1879, and in 1881 Mr Schön carried through the press his own translation of Isaiah and Dr Baikie's version of the Psalms.[1] The Gospel of St Matthew in Ibo, translated by John Christopher Taylor, an Ibo clergyman, and revised by Mr Schön, appeared in 1860, and within the next six years the Four Gospels, Acts, and Corinthians–Philippians were in circulation. The language (afterwards distinguished as Isuama Ibo) prevailed round Onitsha and Asaba, but was also spoken in the Yoruba country and Sierra Leone by the free negroes of the old slave days. The last of the Niger tongues touched in this period was Nupé (spoken on the reaches of the Kworra), in which seven chapters of St Matthew, by Messrs Crowther and Schön, were printed in 1860. During the thirty years the Society issued 147,700 copies of Scripture in these African languages.[2] Eight of

[1] In recognition of his linguistic work the degree of D.D. was conferred on Schön by the University of Oxford.

[2] In 1884 there had been published—Yoruba: 4124 New Testaments; 35,202 Old Testament Portions; 18,677 New Testament Portions = 58,003 copies. Gâ: 3450 New Testaments; 36,899 Old Testament Portions; 4220 New Testament Portions = 44,569 copies.

the ten were new forms of speech. The New Testament was completed in three of them, the Bible in two more; and the conclusion of the Bible in a sixth was passing through the press. In yet two other tongues work was begun. Twelve languages.

So far as the figures emerge the Society spent £3985 on version work, and £1450 of this amount was an acknowledgment made to the Basel Missionary Society of the linguistic labours of Zimmermann and Christaller.

Passing south, we leave the stations of Old Calabar under the care of the sister Bible Society of Scotland, which printed the New Testament in Efik. At intervals during the period the Committee supplied the Baptist missionaries at the Cameroons with English and Spanish Scriptures for the use of their schools and distribution among the negroes. Similar help was given in 1870 and 1876 to the Primitive Baptist Mission which resumed the work so long proscribed by the Spanish authorities in Fernando Po. In 1870-72 paper to the value of some £55 was sent to the devoted Alfred Saker for portions of his Dualla version, which had been in progress for a number of years. The Old Testament had been finished and the New Testament was under revision in 1873, when the record of the version ceases. A grant of Arabic Scriptures was voted in 1880; and a year or two after the German occupation in 1884, for the sole reason that the territory was German, the Baptists were superseded by the Basel Mission in the field they had made their own.

A grant of Arabic Scriptures accompanied the pioneers of the Baptist Mission when they entered a fresh field on the Congo in 1877. Supplies in Portuguese were forwarded later. The steamer *Peace* was built and launched for the thousand miles of clear waterway to Stanley Falls. In the mind's eye one followed past villages, creeks, and islands, through rapids and tracts of steaming forest, the

sweeping river to one of its sources in Lake Bangweolo. There, under the mvula tree on the southern shore, the heart of Livingstone was buried in "the still, still forest" of Ilala. The time seemed drawing near when, to give Stanley's words a wider sense, the Society might hope "to flash a torch of light across the western half of the Dark Continent."

CHAPTER XXXVII

SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

In August 1856 an agent of the Society landed once more on the shores of New Granada.[1] For seventeen years the only means of carrying on its work in South America had been the friendly co-operation of casual travellers, sea-captains trading along the coast, pastors of foreign colonies, missionaries, chaplains, and merchants residing in the large cities. Great political changes had taken place in the interval, and at last these vast regions, over which some 24,000,000 were sparsely scattered, seemed to be accessible to the Divine Word. The Committee accepted the services of Mr A. J. Duffield, local agent in the Birmingham district; and Cartagena, the scene of the last fruitless attempt in 1837-38, was chosen as the centre of operation.

But Cartagena was more dead than alive — its very churches falling to decay or already "left to the bats," with sea-water in their crypts, and dark corners piled with the broken crosses, great wooden images, tinsel, and coloured rags of old pageants; and Duffield decided to make the capital, Santa Fé de Bogotá, his headquarters. A fortnight's detention at Baranguilla enabled him to take the first steps in a wonderfully rapid series of developments. His stock of 670 New Testaments was exhausted on the spot, and intending purchasers, "from miles up the river," left their names to secure the next copies; consignments were ordered

[1] "New Granada," with a new constitution, became "the U.S. of Colombia" in 1861, and with another constitutional change "the Republic of Colombia" in 1886.

for the crowded yearly fair at Mompox, and arrangements were made to supply the towns of Santa Marta, Saranilla, and Calamar. At Bogotá his presence aroused a storm of ecclesiastical hostility. The Archbishop thundered ex-communications against his corrupt and schismatical Bibles and all who bought them, read them, or refused to give them up to the priests; and the fervour of the masses was excited by gorgeous processions and mystery-plays. Tradesmen dared not offer his books for sale, or let him a shop for the purpose. His own countrymen treated his efforts with cold contempt. Still, the books were bought and read; their inspired pages raised up friends and helpers among the people themselves; and district after district was included in the scheme of distribution which Mr Duffield was spreading like a net over the entire country. Within a year and a half (March 1858) over 6000 copies had been distributed, and he was able to write: "We have penetrated the wilds of Chocó, the valley of the Cauca, the industrial towns of the north, the old cities of the south, the little villages which dot the Cordilleras, and the silver-mines among the hills." The Scriptures had been adopted in the schools in Pamplona and Piedecuesta, and demands for the Word of Life had come from Casanare, the most easterly of the provinces, from the Pacific coast, from the very beach where the sea still rolls over Drake's leaden coffin. More than that; in Bogotá, where three-and-thirty years before a native Bible Society was founded in the chief Dominican convent "to print the text of the Holy Scriptures," an edition of the New Testament had issued from the press, for the first time in South America, and nearly the whole of the 5000 copies was in course of distribution. Once more the Archbishop interposed, but the steady sales at his own doors were a sufficient reply to his anathemas.

The greater part of 1858 was spent in long journeys—to Guayaquil; to Panamá and Colon; through the villages

of naked Indians in the stupendous swampy forests to Tolu and Carmen; twice to Peru. The churches of Lima rang with the cry of "malditos libros," but in Peru alone no less than 8000 volumes were circulated among Peruvians, Germans, French, Italians, English, and Chinese. Early in the following year Mr Duffield arranged for the maintenance of the work in Bogotá and removed to Lima. On all sides he met with tokens of goodwill, and by July his sales in the capital and the interior reached the large figure of 3740 copies. Up to that date the aggregate of Scriptures provided for the agency amounted to 52,931 volumes. Thirty-seven thousand six hundred and eighty-two had been issued for circulation, 21,083 had been sold, and 15,249 remained for future use. But another wave of political disorder was at that moment sweeping over the republics of the Andes. New Granada was in a ferment of civil strife; Ecuador was blockaded by Peru; Peru was threatened with another revolution; Chili was under martial law; Bolivia still smouldered with recent excitement. The plans and preparations for enlarged operations were frustrated by these commotions; and as, unhappily, some strain had occurred in the relations between the Committee and their agent, Mr Duffield returned to England at the end of 1860. The field, however, was not abandoned; by means of correspondence and occasional tours the Committee hoped to preserve a basis for future action.

In the meantime extensive pioneer work was in progress in Brazil and the Argentine. Late in 1856 Richard Corfield of Liverpool, who had spent much of his life in South America, sailed for Rio as the representative of the Society. During the next two years he covered some thousands of miles, distributing the Word of Life, arranging for a permanent supply in shops and stores, securing correspondents and energetic helpers in the large towns. His journeys took in São Paulo, the oldest city of the empire, Santos,

Sta. Catharina, San Francisco, Pelotas, Porto Alegre; he travelled northward to Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará; inland he pushed with his laden mules through leagues of forest to the gold and silver regions of Minas Geraes. No fewer than 12,447 Bibles and Testaments were put into circulation.

In July 1859 he removed from Rio to Buenos Ayres, a flourishing city of 150,000 inhabitants. Three months later war broke out, but peace was restored in November, and the State reunited with the Argentine Federation. Settlers were streaming into the capital at the rate of 10,000 a year. The constitution guaranteed freedom of worship, and there were Anglican, German, and other churches, but the great mass of emigrants from Roman Catholic countries had thrown off their allegiance to Rome, while the native male population were indifferent to all religion. In the spring of 1860 Corfield visited Monte Video and the Vaudois colony at La Paz; a little later he was distributing his books on the long trail from Rosario through Paraná and Corrientes to Asuncion, the capital of Paraguay; on Sunday, the 9th December, "the mighty Pacific rolled majestically at his feet, coming up almost to the door of his lodging in the little town of Cobija." He had crossed the continent, pausing at important places to sell the Scriptures, presenting the Bible to the various governors, and endeavouring to interest the chief people in his future operations. He proceeded to Valparaiso, where a Bible and Tract Society was founded by the Rev. Dr Trumbull with the aid of the English colony, and returned to Buenos Ayres by way of Mendoza.[1]

It had now been decided that he should take charge of the whole of the Society's operations in South America. In April 1861 he set out once more for Valparaiso, made a rapid

[1] A few weeks later, 20th March 1861, Mendoza with 7000 of its inhabitants was destroyed by earthquake. Corfield found "not a single building standing" when he passed again in April, in the same year.

inspection of the districts lately occupied by Mr Duffield, and sailed for England to confer with the Committee on the prospects of their undertaking. At that time little was known of the conditions of Bible-work in the southern continent. Few realised that the population scattered over its enormous territories did not exceed three persons to the square mile; that Brazil, outside its three large cities, was sparsely inhabited; that the Argentine, which equalled in area Great Britain, Ireland, France, and Spain, contained perhaps a million and a half of people. On the eastern side of one of the great rivers might be seen a tall village cross, with the cock, chalice, crown of thorns, and other emblems of the Passion affixed to its beams; on the western side of the river rolled 800 miles of primeval forest, the unexplored haunts of tattooed and brutish semi-savages who traded in wax and furs; but across the river no Christian had ventured with the tidings of salvation. In 1860 there were not more than 365 miles of railway open in Spanish America. In 1865 the country for nearly 500 miles west of Rosario was an exposed frontier swept by the incessant raids of the Ranquela Indians.[1]

In these circumstances a South American agency could be maintained only at an expenditure which seemed excessive compared with the visible results, but the Committee decided that it was impossible to relinquish a field in which the Word of God was so urgently needed. Mr Corfield returned to his post in 1862; and amid many difficulties, incessant labour, and much domestic affliction[2] the work steadily advanced. Colportage was carried on at Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Monte Video; and at Buenos Ayres special opportunities for a wide dispersal of the Scriptures were afforded when the lumbering waggons and caravans of the

[1] As late even as 1882 trains ran only thrice a week from Tucuman to Cordova, and as the line was too unsafe for travelling after dark, they drew up at an intermediate station for the night.—Evans, *From Peru to the Plate*, pp. 118-119.

[2] After long and painful illness Mrs Corfield died in 1864.

pampas brought in the wool-clip of the season from remote sheep-walks, and the Biblemen came into touch with flock-masters and gaucho drivers whose faces they would otherwise have never seen.

So extensive a jurisdiction, however, required more supervision and personal direction than one man could give. Early in 1865 the Rev. R. Holden, of the South American Missionary Society, was appointed, in all but the name, agent at Rio, and thenceforth "the Brazils" became an independent charge. About the same time Mr Corfield set out on a two years' tour for the purpose of organising, if possible, some permanent method of distribution in the towns and cities along his route. He passed through Rosario where a representative of the American Bible Society had been lately stationed, visited the new city of Mendoza, and crossing the Cordillera found the Valparaiso Bible Society in a flourishing condition, thanks to the combined support of the British and American Bible Societies, the Tract Societies of Boston and London, the Edinburgh Evangelical, and other organisations. In Valparaiso no separate course of action was necessary, but in northern, southern, and central Chili he fixed on points for independent occupation as soon as suitable persons could be engaged. He proceeded to Santiago, the capital. Little more than a year had elapsed since the tragic festival of the Immaculate Conception (8th December 1863), when the great Jesuit church was burned down, and two thousand people, chiefly girls and women—"the Daughters of Mary"—perished; and the priests were now bent on turning the disaster to account by the erection of a monument on the site, representing "the Virgin embracing her worshippers enveloped in flames." In this superstitious and fanatical city the friends at Valparaiso had already failed to establish a depôt; and Corfield too had to abandon his project for a permanent sale of the Scriptures—not a shopkeeper in the place dared to sell his

books; while the colporteur he had taken with him began work in the most disheartening circumstances. Happily, after a severe struggle, the National Congress passed, in the course of the summer, a measure of religious toleration; the rights of Protestantism were recognised; the colporteur won several warm-hearted friends; and in the following year a small company of Bible-readers became the nucleus of the first Protestant congregation in Santiago.

Corfield pursued his way northward to Lima, Guayaquil, the Isthmus, and Bogotá. Of any clear effect of the large distribution of recent years he observed but scant evidence, and perceived no prospects of further undertakings. Something less desultory than occasional visits seemed absolutely necessary if any broad results were to be obtained, and he advised the cession of New Granada to the care of the American Bible Society.

In 1867 cholera ravaged several of the Argentine provinces; in Buenos Ayres some two thousand people were carried off in six weeks. Still, in the midst of sorrow and commercial paralysis the sales of the year were the highest on record (4679 copies), and raised the total distribution in the city and suburbs since 1859 to 25,000 volumes. At the close of the year, however, the financial condition of the Society engaged the anxious consideration of the Committee, and in view of the retrenchment needed to bring its liabilities within its annual income, it was decided to restrict the outlay on the Argentine Agency. Accordingly Mr Corfield returned to England in 1868, and was in readiness to proceed to Spain when his services were required there at the end of 1869. Mr Junor, his *locum-tenens* during his long expeditions, was placed in charge of the depôt and colportage at Buenos Ayres, and general oversight of the work was committed to Mr Holden, who in the meantime had vigorously attacked the problem of Brazil.

In that huge empire lay an undertaking for generations

to come. In the mere fringe of country then accessible the usual ecclesiastical hostility was experienced; the old cries of heresy and corrupt Bibles were too often effectually raised; but the law allowed free action in the dissemination of the Scriptures, and about a dozen colporteurs were scattering the good tidings of the Gospel at Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia, Cardoza, Rio, São Paulo, São Leopoldo, among the aldeas of Minas and the sparsely-peopled districts of the interior. In a town near Barra on the Rio Grande they were witnesses of a scene which recalled the Middle Ages—"the Lamentations of the Souls," observed on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, when a number of men went through the streets late at night, chanting *Pater* and *Ave* in funereal strains for the souls in Purgatory, for the exaltation of the holy faith, for the peace of Christian princes, for the extirpation of heresy, etc., and then fell on their knees, wailing, "Lord God, mercy! Lord God, I have sinned! Lord God, mercy!" Fifty or sixty paces behind these "lamenters" came others, "the penitents," their faces masked in white handkerchiefs, a white covering from the waist downward, feet bare, the rest of the body naked; and while the dirge-like petitions were chanted, these scourged themselves with thin iron chains until the white skirts were drenched and some of the house-doors were splashed with blood. Here for one day at least the message of salvation through Christ Jesus was proclaimed in the market-place, and people listened eagerly in the streets and in their houses to the reading and explanation of the Word.

In 1870, in spite of priestly attempts to override the law, of arbitrary interference with the colporteurs; in spite, too, of the efforts of the Jesuits to arrest Protestant immigration and to frustrate the reforms of the Liberals, who had made religious freedom part of their programme, the progress of divine truth, if neither rapid nor imposing, was at least distinctly perceptible. From that date Bible-work steadily

advanced, and the circulation of Scriptures, which in 1865-69 amounted to 18,893 copies, increased to 53,755 in the last five years of the period.

In 1870 the South American Missionary Society[1] entered into direct and active relations with the Committee for the adoption of joint colportage in the areas which it occupied. Besides a free grant of 2000 copies, supplies were placed at its disposal at a reduction of 50 per cent. on the selling prices, and consignments were at once forwarded to Fray Bentos and Salto in Uruguay, the Guanape Islands and Callão in Peru, Coquimbo, Santiago and Lota in Chili, Bahia Blanca, Carmen de Patagones, and Rosario in Argentina, and Stanley in the surf-bound Falklands, whose treeless slopes are scored with rivers of moving stones. As new stations were opened, Bible-work was thus extended, though little was heard direct from the missionaries—an oversight unhappily too common in many mission-fields. Grants of Scripture were voted from time to time, and up to 1884 no less than £720 was contributed towards the expenses of their depôts.

At the end of 1871 Mr Holden resigned and returned to England, and temporary superintendence was intrusted to Senhor José de Carvalho, the depositary at Rio. For fully seven years it was his privilege to record a rising circulation and a gradual expansion of missionary enterprise. His colportage staff was restricted to five or six men, but at Campinas, in the province of S. Paulo, the Rev. E. Lane of the American Presbyterian Mission founded a high-grade school in which the Bible was openly taught, and in a little while obtained the Society's support for the employment of Biblemen. A sub-depôt was opened at Rio Claro under the Rev. Mr Gama, another Presbyterian minister; the Rev. G. Vanorden of the Presbyterian Church of the United States

[1] This was the heroic Allen Gardiner's "Patagonian Mission," which had received a grant from the Bible House in 1854, and which assumed its new name in 1864.

was busy in Rio Grande do Sul; grants were made to the Rev. João dos Santos for Sunday school teachers at Rio, and to the British consular chaplain at Pernambuco. In a wild region of Paraná, where the priests were scattered twenty or thirty miles apart, distribution was undertaken by Mr Samuel Elliott, a young colonist from Berwick-on-Tweed; the Rev. Mr M'Caul of the South American Mission was furnished with supplies for an expedition up the Amazon; and once more one heard of Dr Kalley, the intrepid evangelist of Madeira, to whose colportage projects in Rio the Committee readily contributed. "England has sent few missionaries to Brazil," wrote Mr Vanorden, "but your Society has filled the land with Bibles. . . . It is calculated that one hundred thousand Bibles have already entered into Brazil, and have been the means of converting many souls." Still, there were at that moment "fifteen out of twenty provinces which had no missionary agents whatsoever," and "a sea-coast of six hundred miles from Rio de Janeiro to Rio Grande do Sul where a Protestant minister had never preached."

In consequence of the injurious effects of the climate on his family, Senhor Carvalho left for Portugal in the spring of 1879; and the Rev. João M. G. dos Santos, pastor of the Evangelical Church founded at Rio by Dr Kalley, was appointed agent, and conducted the Society's operations in Brazil for the next twenty-three years.

Shortly after Mr Corfield's departure many trials befell the River Plate Agency. Notwithstanding special efforts in the city, at the railway stations, and among the pueblos along the line, the results were so far from satisfactory that in 1870 colportage was suspended until a more promising time. In Monte Video civil strife had brought affairs to a standstill. In 1871 yellow fever "converted Buenos Ayres into one vast hospital in which from five to seven hundred died daily," and for some time the depôt was closed on

account of the illness of the depositary and his family. When it was opened again one of the first purchasers was a Chinaman, who was attracted to the window by a New Testament in his native tongue. In the same year the Bible was fiercely opposed by the priests at the International Exhibition at Cordova. Books were torn up, and Mr Junor himself was brutally attacked, but 57 Bibles and Testaments were sold, and 250 Portions were distributed gratis in that ancient stronghold of Jesuitism.

Early in 1873 Mr Junor died. For two years the vacancy was filled by his son, and in 1875 the Rev. F. N. Lett of the South American Mission, whose devotedness during the yellow-fever epidemic had won the esteem of all classes, succeeded as agent. Sales had fallen so low that the depôt was given up; booksellers were engaged to sell on commission, railway stalls were furnished with copies, and clergymen and ministers received stocks for the supply of their respective districts. Colportage was directed with fresh spirit and wider reach. The staff, frequently changing in consequence of the hardships and exhaustion of the work, sometimes numbered eleven men. Entre Rios, the settlements of Santa Fé westward beyond the rivers from Paraná, the cattle-farming regions as far north as Tacuaremba in Uruguay were brought into the scope of the agency, and in 1876 the dauntless Italian, José Mongiardino, accomplished the greatest colportage journey yet made in South America.

A hardy mule-train conveyed him and his books through forests and vast plains swept with dust-storms, over precipitous trails and rocky passes along the outskirts of the everlasting snow of the Cordilleras to the frontiers of Bolivia. At San Juan on the edge of the Andes he found the most hopeful of Argentine cities — there were no convents, no friars. At Tucuman the people were compelled to burn the Scriptures they bought. A warning that the mob would

stone him did not deter him from going to Salta. The friars at Jujuy clamoured for his expulsion, but the Governor enforced the law and raised the question, "What is there in this Bible that it should be prohibited?" In the following year (1877) he set out once more, but his colleagues never saw his face again. Passing through many places hitherto unvisited in Bolivia, he had sold all his books — over 1000 copies in Spanish—and was on his homeward journey when he was murdered near Santiago Cotagaita on the 16th July. His money was untouched, and subsequent inquiry left no doubt that he had fallen a victim to religious fanaticism—had been stoned to death for distributing the Word of Life —and that his assassins had been allowed to escape. In his last letter occurred the words: "Remember me in your prayers, as I do you in mine, that as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation may abound."

Mr Lett's connection with the South American Mission occasioned his removal, as chaplain, to Rosario in 1878, and at that date he made a brief survey of the wide territories included in his agency. In a population of 2,600,000 the Protestants did not exceed 29,100. The first Reformed Church in the agency had been established at Buenos Ayres in 1825. There were now twenty-two churches, eleven Sunday schools, and apparently not more than ten day schools in which the Bible was read. In Paraguay there was neither Protestant church nor school, and Roman Catholicism was "in a sad state of corruption and disorder." In the Gran Chaco, to the west, the priests claimed five thousand Indians under instruction at four mission stations, though so far as instruction and civilisation went their missions were an utter failure. To these native tribes no Protestant missionary had yet gone forth, but in this same year a grant of English and Welsh Scriptures was despatched to the colonists who were clearing a way for the Gospel in those deep forest tracts.

The recent imposition of a duty of 35 per cent. on imported books suggested the printing of the Scriptures in Buenos Ayres, and in 1878 the first single Gospel — St Matthew — was issued. The value of such Portions, to which the Psalms were added in 1881, soon became apparent. So long had *La Biblia* been reviled by the priests, so strictly had the people been forbidden to purchase it, that the very name was held in abhorrence, but the masses were so grossly ignorant of its contents that those who spat on the Bible gladly bought the detached Portions when called by their separate titles. Similarly, in Brazil, the Bible was rejected with scorn, while *as Escrituras sagradas* were held in reverence.

The possibility of producing some part of the Word of God in Quechua and Guárani also occupied the attention of Mr Lett. For Guárani, the chief Indian tongue, spoken by many thousands along the course of the Paraná and the Paraguay, the time had not yet come. With regard to Quechua he was more fortunate. The Gospel of St John was translated by the Rev. J. H. Gybbon-Spilsbury of the South American Mission, and in 1880, 1000 copies left the press—the first translation ever published in that ancient speech which still prevailed from Santiago del Estero through Bolivia and Peru to Ecuador.[1]

Patagonia fell within the River Plate Agency, and in 1879, at the request of the General Assembly of the Calvinistic Methodist Church in Wales, between 300 and 400 Bibles and Testaments were shipped to the small Welsh colony which had settled in the valley of the Chubut River in 1863. Then Yahgan, the tongue of Darwin's "miserable and degraded savages" of Tierra del Fuego, was added to the Society's versions. The translator, the Rev. Thomas Bridges, might well appear to have been chosen by

[1] *See* vol. ii. p. 96 for the Quichua (Quechua) versions of the New Testament and the Psalms, ready for the press in 1825 and 1831, but of which no more was heard.

Providence for the accomplishment of a task which many would have pronounced impracticable. As a boy he went out to the Falklands in 1856 with the Rev. George P. Despard, secretary to the Patagonian Mission, mastered the native speech with boyish facility, was ordained in England about 1867, and returning to Ooshooia (Usuaia) began his linguistic task. He wrote a grammar, and compiled a dictionary containing 32,430 words of a language which the great naturalist had described as "scarcely deserving to be called articulate."[1] With the precious MS. of the Gospel of St Luke he sailed for home in impaired health in 1880, and during the voyage his days were given to the translation of the Acts. A memorable figure under Magellan's Clouds this solitary possessor of a language, who held, as it were, the spiritual life of a people in the scored and ruffled leaves of his version! A thousand copies of St Luke were printed in 1881, and in 1883—after long delays, for the proofs had to be sent out to the end of the world—the Acts of the Apostles left the press.

In 1878 our attention is arrested by a solitary horseman in Entre Rios. He has been forewarned against highwaymen and robbers, but he rides fearlessly from farm to farm, and finds his way through the forest and among the hills by means of map and compass. Later we catch sight of him in the territory of Missiones, noting the many ruins of towns, churches, etc., — the strange remains which represent the old mission-monarchy of the Jesuits; or far away north, on the

[1] Darwin, *A Naturalist's Voyage*, p. 205. *See* the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1886, p. 695, for a summary of Bridges' account of his Yahgan Dictionary. The Fuegians had drifted so far from old-world traditions that they retained no name for God, yet three words from their vocabulary suffice to suggest the possibilities of this inarticulate language: "*Linganana*, to feign distress for the purpose of obtaining charity"; "*Mamihlapinatapai*, to look at each other, hoping that either will offer to do something which both parties much desire, but are unwilling to do"; "*Macanana*, to suffer similarly to another." So deeply was Darwin impressed with the Christian work accomplished in Tierra del Fuego, that he sent a subscription to the South American Missionary Society; and in 1882 a letter, with a gold medal, inscribed "Demersis aequore nautis attulit Religio salutem," was received from King Humbert in acknowledgment of aid rendered by the missionaries and the once dreaded savages to the shipwrecked crew and passengers of an Italian exploring expedition.

confines of Bolivia, much in need of "five ears and eyes," for he is in the midst of brigands and assassins, who could throw light on the fate of his brave predecessor Mongiardino. Judge of this Henriksen the Dane by one year's doings, emphasised in gallant *précis* by Lett, who does not undervalue the work of his other Biblemen: "Nine provinces traversed to and fro, 86 towns, and 21,708 houses in them, visited, 639 miles on horseback, 984 miles by train, 213 by steamboat, and 2670 miles on mule-back; level plains crossed, sandy deserts, dense forests, rocky mountains, heat, cold, hunger, thirst, sleeping in the open air, explaining what the Bible is, reading it to the ignorant, urging the people to buy it, answering objections, etc., etc." In 1882—the year of the Buenos Ayres Exhibition, in connection with which the Society made an impressive display, distributed some 3000 Gospels in six languages, and received the favourable notice of the press—the strain of missionary duties compelled Mr Lett to resign all but the honorary position of agent, and Henriksen was chosen for the responsibilities of the office. He fixed his headquarters at Cordova—a bold move which would not have been tolerated fourteen years earlier.

Wider still were cast the nets of colportage—south-west, 600 miles by the crow to Bahia Blanca; northward through the Upper Provinces into Bolivia. At Tupiza on the frontier the stock of Scriptures was seized at the custom-house as "prohibited books," and the men had no choice but to return. Later, an official declaration that the Bible was free was received from the Government, and Henriksen decided to undertake the venture himself. Accompanied by one of his colporteurs he joined a mule-train at Salta in the last days of May, threaded two hundred miles of perilous defile, crossed the frontier without difficulty, and stood on a June evening beside Mongiardino's grave—a heap of earth and stones, covered with thorny shrubs, outside the cemetery on the hill at Cotagaita. In this unblessed spot the murdered

Bibleman had been laid near a parricide; the old black man who had buried him had planted the thorns to keep the dogs away at night.

On the 29th June Henriksen reached Sucré (Chuquisaca), the Bolivian capital, which boasted the richest cathedral on the southern continent; jewelry valued at half a million sterling ablaze on its shrines and images, vestments and sacred vessels. In four untroubled days 581 copies were sold among the best people in the city. On the fifth the Archbishop imperiously demanded the interposition of the civil power. The Prefect made no response, but strongly urged Henriksen to leave, lest the uproar among the clergy should have serious consequences. Henriksen prudently complied, and amid many friendly warnings set out for Potosí, where he beheld a curious spectacle. Two miles out, a procession of the clergy came out to welcome the first carts ever seen at the Silver City; the carts, the mules, the new causeway were blessed, and the city was entered in state. Here, too, where it was sadly needed, the Word of God was successfully distributed. "I often saw a Franciscan friar in the streets of Potosí," wrote Henriksen, "engaged by the Indians to say prayer. He would offer them a crucifix to kiss, sprinkle the ground in front of them with holy water, and on receiving a silver coin begin a prayer, the poor Indians not understanding a word,[1] but kneeling or standing reverently till he had done."

From Potosí to Salta, the homeward journey took thirty days, in which bitter cold and snowstorms destroyed a number of the mules. Five fellow-travellers fell sick of the intermittent fever, *chuchu*. One died and was buried in the desert. "I read the Burial Service over his corpse, laid in an icy grave. I suppose it was the first time that this [Christian burial] has happened on those journeys where

[1] Most were aboriginal; their only language Quechua.

deaths often occur among travellers." Cordova was safely reached in September.

On the 8th February 1884, at the early age of forty-two, Mr Lett fell a victim to typhoid fever, and was laid to rest in the presence of "hundreds of people" of all nationalities in Rosario.

Thus closed another chapter of Bible-work in the Argentine Republic. New towns, new colonies, new railways were springing up; the whole country was open to the circulation of the Scriptures, but, in a more languid fashion, there was the same conflict here as one beheld in Belgium, France, and Italy—"Republicanism and Liberalism, with no God, on one side, beating down Clericalism, with no Bible, on the other."

Mr Corfield's were the last official visits from the Argentine to the Pacific coast; but communication was maintained with the Valparaiso Bible Society, which gradually extended its operations north and south along the Chilian sea-board. The support of the Committee took the form of a regular subsidy of £100 a year, supplemented by a 50 per cent. discount on the purchase of Scriptures. In 1874 colportage at Santiago was discontinued, but two years later, in view of fresh openings, the Committee joined the South American Missionary Society in founding a depôt in that city. In the course of the war with Peru and Bolivia (1879-81) a colporteur was sent from Valparaiso to Antofagusta, the Chilian base. A stirring appeal for Christian effort along the shores of the Pacific was made in 1881 by Dr Trumbull, the veteran chaplain at Valparaiso, and the Committee gave the Valparaiso society assurance of help in any wise expansion of its undertakings. At Santiago little was achieved by the joint depôt, and the arrangement with the South American Missionary Society ceased at the end of 1882, but happily at that juncture a Basel colporteur was able to take up Bible-work there for the Valparaiso society.

Of other States, in regard to which the Society was awaiting opportunities, came brief mention at intervals. In 1874 friends in Callão wrote of the large influx of Chinese, and obtained supplies for distribution. In 1881 the Valparaiso war colporteur visited the place, but nothing could be done outside the barracks of the Chilian troops. Subsequently consignments were despatched to Peru, but the country was too much unsettled for any definite plan to be proposed.

In 1872 a grant of Scriptures was voted to a correspondent at Cartagena; in 1873 and 1876 one heard vaguely of fair sales from the Bogotá depôt; in 1873 the Rev. H. B. Pratt of Socorro took a three months' journey among the mountains of Santander, and two years later he was at Bucaramanga, revising Valera's Spanish version. Lastly, in 1884, an attempt was made to reach the thousands of labourers engaged on the Panamá Canal. Leaving his wife and children at Jamaica, the Rev. A. W. Lockyer of the South American Missionary Society reached his destination in February. Within a month he had been "called to his eternal rest and reward."

Turn back to the story of Brazil. Under Dos Santos the annual circulation rose from 8000 to nearly 18,000 copies. The increase was partly due to the new law, which gave equal civil rights to Brazilians whether Roman Catholics or seceders; partly to co-operation (in 1880 Dr Kalley's men and the Scottish Bible Society were furnished with more than 4000 copies between them); partly to the new sub-depôts, of which Dos Santos had founded twenty-one. The prejudices of the people were now better understood. At Christmas and in Passion Week the Gospels were advertised simply as true histories of the birth and death of Our Lord. On All Souls' Day, when flowers were strewn and candles lit on the graves of the departed, interest was awakened by placards bearing the text, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying."

The Bishops in their pastorals still decried the Bible as corrupt; and here as in other Roman Catholic populations the use of the Vulgate versions was justified by results. There were Evangelical churches in Rio, São Paulo, Bahia, Pernambuco, Rio Grande, Minas, which had all received the Gospel through the Society's circulation of Figueiredo's version. Magistrates in the interior still interfered at times with the colporteurs, but these were provided with printed copies of the law and the resolution of 1868 authorising the sale of the Scriptures as a trading transaction.

On the last day of 1881 Senhor Dos Santos was graciously received by the Emperor Dom Pedro II., who accepted a copy of the Bible which the Committee were unable to present during his visit to England.

In that year, too, died one of those who had testified in the old times of persecution in Madeira. He had been imprisoned, clubbed almost to death; his house had been burned down, his father's body buried in the cross-roads, his wife and children compelled to flee to the West Indies. In happier days he joined Dr Kalley among the refugees in Illinois, and followed him when he began his mission-work in Brazil. There for twenty years and more he had served as colporteur and city missionary.

Strange contrast between this devoted life and the record of a German colony at Sta. Maria da Bocca do Monte, sixty leagues beyond Porto Allegre! The settlers had left their Bibles behind them in the home-country. Gradually they lapsed into free-thought, indifference, ignorance. In the ancient mountain forest their children grew up without ever having seen the Word of God. Even the meaning of Christmas and Easter seems to have been forgotten. So far had they fallen away when a newly-arrived pastor wrote to the Committee on their behalf in 1883.

It is impossible to present a complete statistical epitome

of the work described in the preceding pages. During the thirty years at least 247,000 copies of Scripture, in thirty-one European, Oriental, and Polynesian tongues, were voted by the Committee for the various centres in South America; and in addition to these, editions were printed at Bogotá and Buenos Ayres.[1]

From 1857 onward, expenditure in connection with the agencies, the Valparaiso Bible Society, and the South American Missionary Society amounted to £57,509; and the receipts somewhat exceeded one-third of that sum.[2]

In 1863 the Society resumed its work in Mexico. It was just twenty years since the abrupt termination of Dr Thomson's mission. The country had been racked by political convulsions, civil strife, foreign invasion, but the efforts of the pioneers had not been fruitless. One read of "the slumber of ages being broken, of men inquiring for the truth on every side." "I saw lately," wrote a correspondent, "a letter from Real del Monte, near the capital, in which the writer begs his correspondent, a Scotch manufacturer, to send him one thousand Bibles. In this city [Monterey] I sold in thirteen days ninety-three Bibles and eighty-seven Testaments, and will soon have all my stock on hand sold." An enterprising agent was found in Mr J. W. Butler of Monterey, and a few weeks later the Scriptures were circulated without hindrance in the streets of Victoria and Tampico.[3] Striking inland he disposed of 1000 Bibles and 600 Portions at Tula, Sta. Barbara,

[1] About 140,000 copies appear to have been circulated by the agency in Brazil, and one gathers from a casual reference in 1898 that the Argentine Agency distributed over 127,000.

[2] The following figures give an interesting summary of the later years of the period: —1874-84, Brazil: expenditure, £11,444 (including colportage, £6046); receipts, £3990. River Plate: expenditure, £8569 (colportage, £4986); receipts, £3478. Valparaiso Bible Society: expenditure, £1460; Scripture grants, 13,731 copies; receipts, £1187.

[3] From one of the priests at Victoria he heard of the movement for reform among the Roman Catholics. The party already numbered one hundred and fifty ecclesiastics, who made the Scriptures their sole authority and repudiated the supremacy of Rome. They flit across the page, and vanish from our story.

and other places on his route, and had begun his sales at San Luis de Potosí when the Bishop interposed. His books, which had passed the customs, were confiscated on the ground that he had neglected to procure a licence required by the law. He hastened to the capital, but his appeal was reserved for the decision of the Emperor, who had not yet landed. One remembers gladly that among the early acts in Maximilian's brief and tragic career was his decision in favour of the unrestricted circulation of the Word of God throughout Mexico.

A depôt was opened in the City of Mexico, arrangements were made for sale on commission in one of the principal streets, and colporteurs were engaged; but even the Emperor's licence did not prevent hindrance and molestation. Books were seized, colporteurs were imprisoned, the agent himself, protected by the imperial permit, was arrested. Prohibitions were affixed to the church doors; from the pulpits the people were warned against "the infamous project to destroy the faith of the nation." Maximilian, too, receded from his liberal principles, and allied himself with the reactionaries. Still, many of the most influential cities were visited—Pachuca, Puebla of the Angels, Orizaba, Vera Cruz, on the east; Toluca, Morelia, Querétaro, Guanajuato, Guadalajara, in the interior; and signs were not wanting of divine guidance through the reading of the Written Word. Witness Amecameca, the old Aztec town under the snow-capped volcanoes.

Just outside the town the Holy Hill, densely wooded, rises in a sudden thrust from the plain. It had been a Holy Hill long before the coming of Cortés; the Spanish Jesuits still kept it "holy"; and thousands came in pilgrimage to the cave high up among the huge old trees, seeking relief for all manner of afflictions from "our Lord of the Holy Hill." In a chapel within the

cave lay his body[1]—"the dead body of a black man"—which had worked many miracles. The Indians left locks of hair, shreds of garments, twisted in the grass or fixed to the trees, to remind *nuestro Señor del Sacro Monte* of their petitions. More to the purpose, they brought bees-wax and honey "to the value of at least 10,000 dollars a year." From these poor souls came a request for a Protestant pastor. They had often been visited by the col-porteurs; they had read the Scriptures; they met together on Sundays for reading and prayer; they needed now the living voice of the teacher.

At sunrise, 19th June 1867, a volley crackled on the hill-top at Querétaro; Maximilian fell back dead on his cross; and Napoleon's dream of a Latin empire in the West drifted away in musket smoke. The new Republic shook off the rule of the priest. The Church catechism was withdrawn from the State schools, and in some instances the Scriptures took its place. In one State the Governor bought 200 New Testaments for school use; in another 800 were distributed as prizes. On the advice of the Minister of Education 6000 volumes were ordered for the State of Guanajuato. The purchase was completed; the books were delivered; but Rome still wielded the terrors of excommunication, and that project was set aside. The clergy seemed inflamed by their loss of power to a malignant and shameless hostility. At Quaquechula, where many copies of the Scriptures had been sold—"Those books are mine," cried the priest, lying in the presence of the Eucharist; "stolen from a supply sent to me, and I invite you, as good Christians, to deliver them up to me, and so avoid the curse against the sacrilege of buying things stolen from the Church." At San Ildefonso, where a congregation had been formed among the work-people of

[1] *See* Miss Hale's *Mexico*, pp. 208-212, for the story of Fray Martin de Valencia, one of the missionaries to the Aztecs, whose relics were conveyed to the Cave of Amecameca. The account in the text was no doubt the Indian version heard upon the spot.

The Rev. W. Major Paull

the English Woollen Factory, a priest checked his horse on the bridge over the boundary stream, and uttered his malediction: "Cursed be the factory; cursed be the land belonging to the factory; cursed be the people employed in the factory, and may it soon be reduced to ashes!" In the leading city of Puebla,[1] while two colporteurs and their friends were at prayer, the house was stormed by a furious multitude armed with stones, knives, and pistols; their money, books, and clothes were stolen; and they barely escaped with their lives by passing from roof to roof. At that murderous outbreak "various priests" were present.

Yet the work proceeded. Arrangements were made with the agent of the American Bible Society to prevent overlapping. The Word of Life was distributed more widely than ever—in villages, at markets, at famous fairs which brought in thousands of people from the rural districts. In 1869 Mr Butler reached Acapulco, the romantic port of the old Spanish plate ships, and a depôt was founded there. The Bible had crossed from sea to sea. In the next two years one reads of numerous conversions, of the organisation of native congregations, of two Evangelical churches (numbering at least eight hundred people) in the City of Mexico, of the Lord's Supper administered by five earnest pastors who were once Roman Catholic priests, of a Young Men's Christian Association, of Sunday and day schools. In various Mexican towns there were about sixty congregations (ranging from ten persons to two hundred) which, with scarcely an exception, originated in Bible-work carried on in the midst of bitter opposition and persecution.

After having circulated over 67,000 volumes, Mr Butler resigned in 1871, and the Rev. H. C. Riley, agent of the American and Foreign Christian Union, took charge until the arrival of his successor, the Rev. William Parkes

[1] Puebla of the Angels—founded on a spot where, in a dream, the first Spanish bishop had seen two angels measuring out a great city in a green landscape bounded by volcanoes.

of Bideford, in October 1872. For nearly three years, memorable for the sufferings of the native congregations and the testimony of martyr blood, the cause was advanced in the face of constant danger. In 1874-75 one German and eleven Mexican colporteurs were employed, and the circulation rose to 25,000 copies. In the course of 1875 Mr Parkes returned to England, taking with him as relics fragments of Portions torn up before his eyes and ashes of copies burned by the roadside. The Committee hesitated as to a fresh appointment. Most of the missionaries in Mexico were Americans, and they had adopted the method of free distribution—a policy which the Society's long experience had proved to be a mistake, which made colportage almost impracticable, and for which there appeared to be no justification in the condition of Mexico. Not without reluctance, it was decided to wait events. Operations were suspended until the summer of 1876, when the Committee met Mr James Pascoe, the evangelist of Toluca, who had been wonderfully preserved from the murderous plots of his enemies. As the result of the interview a two-years' experiment was arranged under his direction.

On his return, Pascoe found the country in a blaze of civil war; Diaz commanding the forces of the revolutionists, the *Clerigos* combining in a gigantic effort to destroy at once Protestantism and liberty, fanatical mobs breaking into acts of almost incredible savagery—("in Ilalpujahua the Roman Catholics actually crucified one poor man, and tore out the eyes of another"). As speedily as possible he organised a system of Indian colportage—a considerable economy on the earlier method, and likelier than the plan of sub-agencies under Mexican supervision adopted by his predecessor. Let two incidents suffice to picture the dangers, the trials, and the encouragements of these days.

Twice the colporteurs visited Zitacuaro, and the people would not let them go further, so eager were they to buy up

their supplies; to form themselves into a congregation, to have prayer meetings and Bible readings every night. In order to free his men Mr Pascoe applied to the American Presbyterian Mission. A Mexican preacher was sent; over a hundred ardent listeners were enrolled; and, in their joy at the event, "the authorities gave a public breakfast in honour of the installation of Protestantism in their town."

Here is the contrast. Near San José Malacatapec two colporteurs were attacked by six well-dressed horsemen, who fired at them, robbed them of everything, and were only prevented from murdering them by the appearance of other travellers. In their flight the assailants carried off the Scriptures to San José, where the priest ordered them to be burned in the square. The ringleader in the outrage was arrested, tried, and sentenced to the gallows as a bandit; but a little later a well-placed bribe secured his release. After several appeals for redress from the Governor and the Prefect, Mr Pascoe was referred to the "proper authority" —the *alcalde* of San José. The *alcalde* turned out to be the bandit condemned to death.

At the close of the two years the Society's position in Mexico was reviewed in the light of this experiment. Giving weight to the fact that the missions were almost all American, the Committee considered the field to be one which might be left to the American Bible Society. The matter was laid before its Board of Managers, who agreed to carry on the work and take over the stock of the British depôts. During the sixteen years—1863-78—£11,384 was expended on the Mexican Agency, and the receipts amounted to £4654. The returns of the actual distribution are incomplete, but the aggregate of Scriptures voted for transmission by the Committee fell little short of 158,000 copies.

It remains to mention that supplies in various languages were sent out from time to time to the missionaries at Belize, the chief town in British Honduras, and to the Moravian

Brethren labouring among the Spanish, Indian, and Creole population at Bluefields on the Mosquito Coast, and that various small remittances and at least one free contribution were received. In 1865, at the request of the Rev. Richard Fletcher of Corosal, an edition (1000 copies) of the Gospel of St Luke in Maya was printed for the use of the Wesleyan missionaries in Yucatan. The version appears to have been one of those for which Mr Thomson arranged during his residence in Mexico in the late twenties, and of which for some years nothing was heard. Mr Fletcher himself translated St John, which appeared in a definitive form in 1869.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE WEST INDIES

The agency for the West Indies was closed, as we have seen, in 1851. In the next thirty years and more the record of Bible-work in these regions was largely one of spontaneous individual effort. The mere necessity for the Word of God kept the Committee in fairly regular communication with correspondents of the Moravian, Baptist, Wesleyan, and London Missions. Supplies were constantly required, and were readily granted, for Sunday and day schools, for the poor among the negro population, for hospitals and prisons, for sailors, immigrants, and coolies.

Personally the Society never lacked friends; the names of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, of Chief Justices and other leading men were seldom missing from the rolls of the Auxiliaries; but ecclesiastical exclusiveness too often prevented that gracious unity of Christian service which was its unchanging ideal. Even at home any organisation, to be efficient, required unrelaxing supervision; in this climate, where it was especially liable to the effects of death and change, a faithful secretary was occasionally all that survived of a once flourishing Auxiliary, and there was a continual recurrence of decay and revival. Nevertheless, as we shall see from a rapid survey of the islands, much good work was done; and few institutions, left to their own initiative, would have so long retained a responsive vitality.

In Jamaica, from 1856 to 1863, the Rev. B. Millard of

St Ann's Bay spent some portion of the year in Bible tours, lectures, meetings and interviews, with good results. The Trelawny Auxiliary was formed at Falmouth, the St Thomas-in-the-Vale at Rodney Hall; the Westmorland was revived at Savanna-la-Mar; at Stewart Town a new society took the place of an extinct predecessor; but special difficulties delayed the restoration of the important Auxiliary at Kingston. From the Kingston depôt, however, the sales were maintained at an average of 4700 a year, and upwards of 20,700 copies were issued during the extraordinary revival, which swept like a mighty wind through Jamaica and the neighbouring islands in 1860 and 1861. The salient peculiarity of that sudden awakening was the insistent demand for the Word of God. It preserved most of the people from excess and extravagance; in many cases it deepened the sense of sin into a new life. When the excitement passed away, though thousands fell back into superstition and immorality, two-thirds of the converts at Brown's Town stood faithful. The immunity from trouble in large districts during the negro rising of 1865 was ascribed by those on the spot to the influence of the Bible.

In 1862 the Kingston Auxiliary was at last reorganised, and took over the management of the depôt. Three years later the Committee sent out the Rev. W. Robertson of Croydon to quicken the whole of the West Indian system to the hearty vigour of earlier years. The mere expectation of the visit was a spring of fresh energy to the friends of the cause. Mr Robertson reached Kingston in September 1865, and was enthusiastically received by the clergy and laity of all denominations at the first Auxiliary meeting held for many years. A Ladies' Association was formed, and a colporteur appointed, partly at the expense of the Society. Mr Robertson spent some months among the organisations in all parts of the island. In May he caught a chill from the treacherous "Norths," but recovered

sufficiently to sail for St Thomas. In the middle of June he crossed over to Santa Cruz, but he was then in the last stage of rapid consumption, and so weak that he could scarcely walk. He met with every kindness from the Rev. J. L. Harvey of the Moravian Mission, who comforted his dying hours, and on the last day of the month he sank peacefully to his rest.

The Rev. W. T. Bowen of Barbados was engaged to continue his mission. He rendered good service in his own island, visited Grenada, Tobago, Trinidad, and Demerara; but in 1867 his health broke down in Antigua, and he resigned.

Grants in aid of colportage were voted by the Committee to several of the Jamaica Auxiliaries; Scriptures were supplied to the Ladies' Society for Promoting Education, and helpful discounts allowed to the Pure Literature Society; but for several years there was little to note beyond change and loss, personal efforts, and hopes of revival more or less successfully realised. In 1874, £25 was readily granted towards a local scheme of visitation, but it failed at the outset through the sudden death of the minister selected to carry it out. In 1882 the depôt perished in a fire which destroyed a large part of Kingston. Arrangements were made that in future the stock should be kept by a bookseller, and the Auxiliary decided to confine itself to colportage and collection of subscriptions. As the period closed a depôt was opened at Stewart Town by the Rev. W. M. Webb, with two colporteurs for work in the villages and at the weekly *solas* or market frequented by the natives, German and Irish settlers, and Indian coolies from the fertile Black Grounds in the mountains.

During the thirty years £10,699 was remitted to the Bible House from Jamaica — £1734 in free subscriptions, and £8965 on purchase account.

Between Jamaica and Florida stretched the great island of Cuba, which in the early seventies the Committee had hoped to include in the Central American Agency. Circumstances, as we have seen, proved unfavourable, and in 1878 Mexico itself was transferred to the American Bible Society. Earnest representations were made by the old Pennsylvania Bible Society in 1881, and as the result of friendly negotiations, the American Bible Society, whose geographical position gave it a prior claim, began work two years later in this beautiful but benighted Spanish colony.

North-east of Cuba was strewn the broken chain of the Bahamas, and 600 or 700 miles further to the north-east, Bermuda within its coral reefs formed the outpost of the West Indian district. Its Auxiliary was twice revived, and its remittances during the period amounted to £86 in free gift and £114 on purchase account. There were many pleasant glimpses of the Bahamas, which sent £698 in contributions and £1064 for supplies of Scriptures. A more catholic spirit brought about the union of the "separate Bible Society" and the Nassau Auxiliary. A number of Branches were formed, and depôts were opened on the outlying islands.

In the intervals of revolution and civil war several thousands of copies in Spanish, French, and English were shipped to the missionaries in Hayti and San Domingo. On the border-line between the Negro and the Spanish Republics a group of thirty Protestants were found in 1865 worshipping together by the light of the Word of God alone. In 1876 an arrangement for colportage was made with the Rev. J. E. Gummer of Jacmel, but a beginning had scarcely been attempted when he died. A grant, however, was offered to Port-au-Prince, and some good work was done in the following year. Continuous labour was impossible among a population so

fickle and turbulent. Both States were still almost submerged in barbarism, and multitudes, especially in the interior, were enslaved to the malign superstitions and savage rites of Obeah. The mines were unworked, the forests of mahogany and other valuable timber were unutilised, the fertile plains were left to the jungle. "There was not a plough in the whole island, and the only steam engine ever set up was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1865." In 1881 grants were voted to the Rev. A. von Papengouth for a depôt at Jacmel and the employment of a mounted colporteur in the highlands; and in 1882 a committee of ministers and laymen under Bishop Holly was formed to superintend a depôt in the capital, Port-au-Prince.

For a moment the Spanish Bible seemed to be, for the first time, within reach of the people in Porto Rico. A consignment was sent in 1874 to the Rev. A. Giolma, who had just been appointed to the beautiful church built by the little Anglican congregation at Ponce. But the work had barely begun when the Government interposed. Giolma was charged with preaching against Roman Catholicism; the church was shut up for a month; the priest of Ponce was imprisoned for not having prevented its erection; and though the keys were returned, the Word of God was banished.

Flitting through the clustered islands—many of them extinct volcanoes dipping their forest slopes into the blue waters — we note Tortola, where Bibles and Testaments were replaced and the schools supplied after the destructive hurricane of 1871; St Martin, St Eustatius, and Nevis, where small mission depôts were opened; Montserrat and St Lucia, among whose poor negroes free distribution was made; and Guadeloupe, whither a small consignment of the French version was sent to the care of friends. Elsewhere there was work on a larger scale.

The Auxiliary in St Thomas transmitted £475, nearly

the whole in payment of Scriptures. The island was the first West Indian station of the Moravians, and the 150th anniversary of their landing was celebrated in 1882. In 1868 Mr Bowen founded two Auxiliaries in Santa Cruz; of £88 received up to 1884, over £73 was on purchase account; and as the period closed the Committee assigned £60 for colportage in this and the neighbouring islands. In St Kitt's the traveller in 1864 would have looked in vain for a bookshop, but he would have found a Bible or two under nearly every roof; and the Sunday schools were well filled with dusky scholars of all ages. A decade later the Auxiliary had but a name to live, but a Scripture account of £768 and free gifts amounting to £42 showed that the Society had not been forgotten.

The sum of £151 from Antigua, nearly all in payment for supplies, was handsomely supplemented by two generous residents, of whom we have no other record. Mr D. B. Garling presented the Society with £200 in 1857, and in 1861 Bishop Westerby, an old and staunch Moravian friend, brought to the Bible House the first instalment of £2435 bequeathed by Mr J. Bradshaw. In the latter year the Bishop of Antigua (Dr Jackson) accepted office as Vice-President of the Society. Chinese coolies were introduced into Antigua in the last years of the period, and the Word of God in their native tongue was distributed as the best remedy for an unhappy experiment.

Dominica, with upwards of £247 to its credit, stood fourth for free contributions among the sixteen West Indian districts. Its purchase account came to £110. The Protestants numbered 4000 in a population of 23,000, mostly Romanist. The work of the Auxiliary was publicly denounced by the Roman Catholic bishop in the early sixties, but a little later he was anxious that the Douai Bible should be in the hands of every child. "I do not expect to live to dispose of them," remarked the depositary as she made out

the last order in the period, "but there are other friends, and we ought to keep up the sale of that blessed book." The writer was Mrs Dalrymple, who had been forty-seven years in charge of the depôt, and had reached the age of ninety-five.[1] The Auxiliary of St Vincent ranked next to Dominica, with £146 free, and £206 on purchase account.

Biblically there was no brighter spot in all the West Indies than Barbados, the oldest English colony in these seas. Recovering from the epidemic of cholera which swept off 17,000 people in 1854, the circulation rose to 2900 copies five years later, and new Branches were formed. Three liberal donations (£300) were presented by Colonel Wright, and in 1865 the Auxiliary subscribed £25 to the new Bible House building fund. Whatever differences may have checked the growth of unity, a larger spirit prevailed after the arrival of the new Bishop, Dr Mitchinson, a Vice-President of the Society, in 1873. During his brief tenure the circulation increased to upwards of 4000 copies a year. In 1882 he resigned and left for England, beloved and regretted as "the first Bishop of Barbados who identified himself with the Barbados Bible Society."[2] The Auxiliary celebrated its jubilee in 1883, when the senior member on its committee was the Rev. J. T. Edgehill, superintendent of the Moravian Mission, who had taken part in its history for forty years. Its circulation during the period was estimated at about 87,000; and its financial record—£1106 free contributions, £3433 purchase account—was second only to that of Jamaica.

The Auxiliary of Grenada was founded in 1833, a year after that of Barbados; in 1884 two of the original committee still survived. The island was but a little wooded patch,

[1] She passed away in 1884.

[2] Assistant Bishop of Peterborough until 1899, when he was elected Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, Dr Mitchinson became one of the Society's great "voluntary workers." In his first speech for the Society in Exeter Hall (1899) he deplored "the absolute ingratitude of the Church of England, as a body," to the great organisation which was serving them at every turn in the mission-field.

twenty miles by thirteen, and most of the population were Roman Catholics, but £40, 10s. was received from it in free gift, and £30, 11s. for Scriptures. Tobago too had had its Auxiliary in 1833. Another was formed as the result of Mr Bowen's visit in 1866, but it gradually declined and disappeared. The free contributions for the period, however, amounted to £32, and the purchase account to £192.

Strangely enough, many Roman Catholics were present at the annual meeting of the Trinidad Auxiliary at Port-of-Spain, in 1856. But though the issues included a considerable variety of European and Eastern languages, the yearly circulation rarely exceeded 1400 copies.[1] On his appointment as the first Anglican Bishop of Trinidad in 1872, Dr Rawle heartily co-operated with the local committee. When he was a boy, he said, his good father had put down his name as a half-guinea subscriber, and now, after fifty years, points of difference had sunk into insignificance compared with the great work to be accomplished by the unity of good and earnest men. In the following year his name, with that of Bishop Mitchinson, was added to the list of Vice-Presidents. With an annual subsidy of £50 from the Bible House, a scheme of colportage was started in 1878; free passage was granted by Messrs Turnbull's line of steamers to several of the islands, and between 1200 and 1300 copies a year were put into circulation. At San Fernando, on the western coast of the island, an Auxiliary had been founded as far back as 1839. Another filled its vacant place in 1857, but it too passed away; and in 1879 a Branch Society was formed. The receipts from Trinidad during the thirty years came to £1723—£109 free, £1614 purchase.

For twenty of these years the Rev. Joseph Ketley of the Wesleyan Mission was virtually honorary agent for

[1] The supply of the coolie population with the Word of God in their various tongues was the special work of the Nova Scotia Coolie Mission.

Demerara. He had taken up Bible-work in 1828, five years before the Georgetown Auxiliary began; when it fell into the sear leaf, he entered into regular correspondence with the Secretaries, maintained with the help of his wife and daughter a considerable distribution, and rarely settled his annual accounts without adding some small gift of his own. Many Portuguese Testaments were circulated in spite of the opposition of the Jesuits; Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, and Chinese Portions were obtained for the thousands of coolie immigrants; among the Jews the book brought many to the recognition of the Messiah. In 1865 Mr Ketley resuscitated the Georgetown Auxiliary, which he served as secretary until his death in 1875. Grants were made from time to time to other missionaries and correspondents at Georgetown, Buxton, Berbice, and Essequibo, and to the Moravians in Surinam; but of Auxiliary operations in Berbice nothing was reported beyond the receipt of £369 in payment of Scriptures, and £108 in free contributions. Apart from a generous donation of £250, the remittances from Demerara amounted to £1332 (£119 free, £1213 purchase). The Auxiliary declined after Mr Ketley's death, and religious divisions benumbed the efforts made to revive it. Yet Guiana, as his son wrote, "was never more truly a mission-field." The new generation was wholly unlike the past. The influx of immigrants from India, China, and Madeira had almost destroyed the simplicity of the negro character. More than ever the Word of God was needed at that moment.

In the absence of an agent, the story of the West Indies lacked those picturesque scenes and moving incidents associated with all Bible-work. Even regular statistics are wanting. Casual figures have been given in the preceding pages, and to these it may be added that over 70,000 copies of Scripture in sixteen or seventeen languages were voted to missionaries and correspondents, and that in all £23,363

was received from the West Indies (£4488 in free contributions, and £18,775 on purchase account); but of the Society's expenditure in this area alone, no account is available. Large as it no doubt was, it was materially lightened by the generosity of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, who carried all consignments of the Word of God free of charge.

The period closed on the eve of the jubilee of the Emancipation. Among the mountains in Jamaica, on the plantations and in the towns of Antigua and other islands, copies of the Testament distributed to the freed slaves fifty years before were still prized and read. Better than that, there were grey-headed negroes in whose hearts the book was a light of life though its material form had perished.

CHAPTER XXXIX

FROM NEWFOUNDLAND TO VANCOUVER

RESUMING the thread of the story in British North America, let us realise, if possible, the actual condition of things in 1854.

Sarnia, at the foot of Lake Huron, is the most westerly point in Mr Kent's inspiriting Jubilee tour. It is the western limit, too, of direct Auxiliary work. No colporteur has yet penetrated to the clearings in the wild backwood regions of the Upper Lakes.

From the Huron shores to the Atlantic, the Society is represented by 17 Auxiliaries with 285 Branches. On the eastern sea-board there are the 12 Auxiliaries of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, with 85 Branches. In Lower Canada there are two—Montreal with 75 Branches, and Quebec, which has just been revived amid the enthusiasm of the Jubilee celebrations.[1] In Upper Canada there are three—Toronto, Kingston, Perth—with 125 Branches. Auxiliaries and Branches seem lost in the enormous field between St John's and the Fresh Water Sea of the Hurons; yet glance at the map, and what a narrow strip it appears in the illimitable distances of the Northern Continent!

In the remoter west of the 95th meridian, with five hundred miles of roadless forest between it and Lake Superior, lies the Red River Settlement in Manitoba, the haunted "land

[1] At Quebec Mr Kent addressed the children of all the Protestant Sunday schools, gathered for the first time in a Bible meeting, and a large collection was made for the China Fund.

of the Manito," the Great Spirit. The bells of the Roman Mission ring out

> "To he boatmen on the river,
> To the hunters on the plain;"

but all is not Romish here. Along the river and about the site of the future city of Winnipeg, a small population—only 300 as late as 1867—of Highland colonists, French Canadian farmers, half-breed trappers and *voyageurs* live in separate parishes, with their own churches and schools.

Away northward, to Hudson's Bay, to the Arctic Circle, slope the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, with their great rivers and lakes; their solitary trading forts, whose very names recall wild tales of courage, endurance, and merciful deliverances; their mission stations, of which scarcely less thrilling stories might be told: and this unimaginable wilderness of furs and peltry and wandering Indians is the Bishopric of Rupert's Land.

Away westward, and still westward, the prairies rise in steppes through endless horizons to the Rocky Mountains. And these seem the regions beyond hope.

Such was the impression of things as they were up to 1855. But everywhere the scenes were shifting from an old to a new era. Within twelve years Ottawa was made the Canadian capital; Ontario and Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia became "the Dominion of Canada"; nearly 3000 miles of railway were in operation (in 1850 there were 50 miles); and two new Bishoprics, Huron and Ontario, were added to the Sees of Quebec, Toronto, and Montreal.[1] Yet eight years more, and the colossal territories of the Hudson's Bay Company had been purchased by the Canadian Government; the province of Manitoba had been incorporated in the Dominion; from the unlimited Diocese of Rupert's Land had

[1] The 100th Regiment of the Line had been raised, too, by Canada for the service of the Empire; the Montreal and Quebec Auxiliaries had united to present every soldier with a copy of the Bible before sailing for England; and upwards of a hundred volumes were willingly accepted by the Roman Catholics in its ranks.

been carved the Bishoprics of Saskatchewan and Athabasca in the north-west, and Moosonee around the shores of Hudson's Bay; Mounted Police patrolled the vast prairies to the Rocky Mountains; and the Sees of Niagara and Algoma bore witness to the expansion of settled life in the old west province.

Bible interests were coloured and vitalised by the stirring spirit of the times. In 1854 the largest consignment of Scriptures ever sent in one year to an organisation out of England[1] was shipped to Toronto. With the aid of the Committee, this greatest of the Canadian Auxiliaries engaged a second and then a third travelling agent. From three to five colporteurs were employed—men who, covering yearly their 3000 miles each, pushed forward into the long forests of our new north settlements. Subscriptions were collected; new Branches were formed, and these Branches took up in earnest the local work of canvassing and distribution (every committee-man giving at least one day in the year to the sale of the Scriptures), and made grants to some missionary society, the French Canadian, the Sabrevois, or the Grande Ligne in the lower province.

In 1855, 90 volumes of the most important versions were presented to the Library of the Canadian Parliament in Toronto.[2] In 1856 the Auxiliary legalised its position under the Act of Incorporation.

In 1858 Mr Jesse Ketchum of Buffalo conveyed to the Bible and Tract Societies the freehold of the depôt premises in Yonge Street, Toronto, on condition that the ground rent should be spent annually in Bibles and religious books for the public school children in the city and in Yorkville; and other property was included in the gift in order that the rental derived from it might be similarly used. This generous promoter of the religious education of the young

[1] 39,111 Bibles and Testaments.
[2] A similar selection was presented to M'Gill College, Montreal, in 1858.

was an old Toronto man, and one of the founders of the short-lived Bible Society of Upper Canada in 1818.

In September 1860 the Auxiliary expressed its loyalty to the Throne and to the Bible in an address to the young Prince of Wales, who had just opened at Montreal the magnificent bridge which linked the Canadian and United States railway systems.

In 1863 the Committee entered upon one of its far-reaching projects. For years the Island of Vancouver and the mainland of New Caledonia, with its unknown mineral treasures, were under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company. In June 1858 the cry of "Gold!" brought a rush of 50,000 diggers; before the summer ended New Caledonia, renamed, was made a Crown Colony by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and in the following year Dr Hills was appointed Bishop of British Columbia. Occasional grants of Scriptures were made to the ministers who went out, but in 1863 the Rev. Lachlan Taylor, senior travelling agent of the Auxiliary, was chosen by the Committee to plant its standard on this uttermost verge of English territory.

On the 11th April he left New York for Aspinwall in one of the Vanderbilt steamboats, crossed the Isthmus of Panamá by rail at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, and reached San Francisco on the 9th May—a detour of 5900 miles. There he received hearty letters of introduction from Bishop Hills, and on 5th June Governor Douglas presided over the largest meeting ever held in Victoria. For the first time all denominational differences were forgotten; Church of England clergy, and ministers of the Wesleyan, Presbyterian and Independent Churches met on one platform; and the Vancouver Auxiliary was founded. It was only seventy years since a daring fur-trader first crossed the continent to the waters of the Pacific; and doubtless Indians were still alive who remembered his inscription in bright red on the

huge rock facing Vancouver: "A. Mackenzie, arrived from Canada July 22, 1792."

A Branch was formed at Nanaimo on Vancouver Island; two prosperous months were spent among the miners in the sublime glens of the Cariboo gold-fields; and in November at New Westminster—the little capital set in a clearing of giant cedar and fir, with 37-ft. "stools" still ungrubbed in its streets—the visitor assisted at the establishment of the British Columbia Bible Society, with Branches at Lillooet and Yule. These great enterprises, so bravely begun, did not last long. A reverse of fortune impoverished the colony, and in 1867 a small cheque was received from Vancouver with an intimation that nothing more could be done in the interest of the Society. The stock of Scriptures which remained was destroyed a year or two later in a fire at Victoria. In 1870 the Auxiliary at New Westminster was reported extinct, but the Rev. R. Jamieson took charge of the stock and continued the work of distribution. The colony joined the Dominion in 1871, and a little later New Westminster and Victoria were revived as Branches of the Toronto Auxiliary.

To return to Canada West. London, one of the Branches of the Toronto Auxiliary, came into notice in the winter of 1856. The cold was so intense that the lamps in the church could scarcely be kept burning, yet people came in to the meeting from farms six and seven miles away; during the year nearly 3000 volumes had been circulated, and £50 had been given as a free contribution for home and foreign use. Dr Cronyn, who had long presided over the work, was made a Vice-President of the Parent Society on his elevation to the See of Huron in 1857. Seven years later, London, with its population of 13,000, was still "the Forest City," and the line to it ran through a hundred and twenty miles of bush, but it had its Pall Mall, St Paul's Cathedral, and Westminster Bridge over the Thames. It was here or

hereabouts, in the course of his explorations, that General Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the province, encamped by the river, and, kneeling with his staff, prayed that God's light and truth might penetrate these regions.[1] For some time this Branch had thought that more could be done for the Bible cause if it were in direct communication with the Committee as a distinct Auxiliary with Branches of its own; but the directors at Toronto were loth to break the unity of the work in Upper Canada, and the Forest City accepted a happy alternative, by which it became an Associate Auxiliary with fifty Branches in five counties.

With regard to the Perth Auxiliary there is little to record. Kingston, which also ranged over five counties and had its Ladies' Association and Biblewomen, took in 1864 the same course as London, and became an Associate Auxiliary with 31 Branches. Since its reorganisation in 1830 it had circulated upwards of 64,000 copies of the Scriptures.

Although Ottawa[2] was in Western Canada, it was a Branch of Montreal until 1855, when upon its urgent appeal it was made an independent Auxiliary. At that date it had a population of some 10,000, and as the headquarters of the timber trade of the Ottawa country was frequented by thousands of lumberers and raftsmen passing to and from the depths of the backwoods. The Committee granted a subsidy of £50 for colportage, Montreal ceded twelve of its Branches, and three years later, as we have seen, Ottawa became the capital of Canada.

East of the Ottawa River one passed into a country overshadowed by a power whose policy was here, as elsewhere, to shut out the Bible. The old French province was dominated by an ecclesiastical organisation of eight prelates, seven hundred priests, and a legion of nuns and friars. The legal obstructions which beset the Society in

[1] Simcoe had chosen the site of London for the new capital when the transfer was made from Newark to York (Toronto). London itself was laid out in 1826.

[2] "Bytown" until 1854; its site mere bush in 1835.

Roman Catholic Europe did not exist on this free soil, but there were the same denunciations from the pulpit, the same threats of spiritual penalties, the same unscrupulous misrepresentations as to the Society's versions, the same priestly Bible-burnings, and at times the same open or covert incitement to personal violence. When left to themselves the people were a reasonable and kindly race, with bolder spirits among them ready to accept and rejoice in the truth. In many instances astonishment, and then curiosity, were excited by the inveterate hostility of the priests towards the Bible and all concerned in its distribution.

With the support of the Committee and generous assistance from Toronto both Montreal and Quebec pursued their labours; and liberal grants were voted at the Bible House in aid of the various agencies and individuals at work.[1] Montreal had its travelling agent, the Rev. James Green; its six, and, as time went on, its ten colporteurs; its Bible-woman in 1861, and a second two years later. At Quebec several of the colporteurs were French converts, and to the energy of its travelling agent it owed in a few years an *entourage* of seven-and-twenty Branches. There was an endless field for work among the French Canadians, the crowds of immigrants (though for the most part those from Great Britain came well provided with the Word of Life), and in destitute places on the outer verge of the settled country.

In February 1859 French Canada was thrown into a fever of excitement by the return of Father Chiniquy, who had been invited by several hundreds of his Roman Catholic countrymen to explain his reasons for having abandoned the Church of his fathers. The hierarchy was furious. The man who had been a devoted priest for five-and-twenty years, who had received the public thanks

[1] Among them was the interesting item of 250 Bibles and Testaments sent to the Colonial Church and School Society for "distribution among fugitive slaves in Canada."

of the Provincial Parliament and a splendid crucifix from Pius IX. for his amazing temperance work, was now but a renegade to be stamped out.[1] He was anathematised from every pulpit; the French press flung broadcast the mandement excommunicating all who spoke or listened to him; he was warned, and not without reason, that his life was in danger. Yet wherever he went he was received with enthusiasm; people flocked in from the neighbouring parishes to Montreal and Quebec; members of the best French Canadian families called upon him; from his hotel windows he addressed the crowds gathered in the streets to greet him. For four days he lectured to huge meetings. On the last, excitement had reached such a pitch that martial law was proclaimed by the Vice-Mayor, and the right of free speech was guaranteed by a thousand British bayonets. In the course of this remarkable visit upwards of 50,000 people heard the message of the Gospel; several thousands of Bibles and Testaments were distributed; and in the City Council, where the action of the Pro-Mayor was impeached, moderate men of all parties were given an object-lesson of the arrogant claims of Rome even in a country under a Protestant Crown.

The French Testaments in the Quebec depôt were speedily sold out; crowds applied daily for books to the Rev. M. Normandeau, at one time a priest in the district, now the pastor of a small Evangelical congregation; supplies were despatched from Montreal; the Branches in Upper Canada subscribed £360 to aid the work; the Committee at home

[1] Born at Kamouraska, Quebec, 1809; grandfather one of the French seamen compelled, pistol at ear, to pilot Wolfe up to the capture of Quebec; father, a notary, had studied for the Church and had been presented with a Sacy Bible on leaving seminary. In that book Chiniquy learned to read; learned much else in time. Ordained in 1833; had been a devoted priest five-and-twenty years when, after sharp disputes as to supremacy of Scripture, authority of the Church, auricular confession, and other dangerous matters, "You can be no longer a Catholic priest," was the sentence of his bishop. The little French Canadian colony in his charge in Illinois adhered to him; were received later, to the number of over 2000, into the Presbyterian Church of the United States.—Chiniquy, *Forty Years in the Church of Christ.*

voted £200, and sent out further consignments by the first steamer. The movement was chiefly among "the common people." Wrights in the shipyards, labourers at their work, were seen discussing matters, Testament in hand. Families met together to read and consider the Word of God. Doubtless some of the books were torn up, delivered to the priests, burned; but the number was small, and frequently on second and better thoughts fresh copies were obtained and preserved. The colporteurs had their trying experiences, ran the gauntlet of hissing, howling, stone-throwing; but the fiercer moods subsided, converts too were treated with respect and friendliness, and the people began to realise that the Protestantism they had been taught to hate was not "the religion of the Devil," and that the Bible was not "the Devil's book."

At the close of 1863 the Montreal Auxiliary, whose revenue had largely increased and whose 160 Branches were supposed to leave "not much room for expansion," arranged to bear its own expenses and to remit its net balance to the Bible House.

It was now ten years since Mr Kent's visit, and in the spring of 1864 the Rev. H. Gill set out on another of those tours which made known the world-wide labours of the Society, strengthened the ties between it and its Auxiliaries, and initiated larger enterprises. Starting in the grey summer dawn, lodging at night with some sturdy farmer of the backwoods, steaming through leagues of bush, crossing the ice of the mighty rivers, sleighing through drifted wastes and woods with the mercury 20 degrees below zero and the wind cutting through furs and buffalo robes, he learned in thirteen months of travel something of the nature of the vast field and of the conditions of colportage and agency work. Now he was among the Mohawks at Brantford, the Oneidas at Muncey Town, or the Ojibwas near Sarnia; now at a gathering of Georgetown school children in the

sunny forest; now in a Highland village where the voices of Lochaber and the Hebrides mingled in the Gaelic hymn,

"Dhia d'fhirinn is do sholus glan"
["O send Thy light forth and Thy truth"];

or it was Christmas Eve, and as he passed through the glimmering snow-huddled French villages, he saw the preparations for midnight Mass and the spectacle of the Babe in the Manger. He attended the annual meetings at Toronto and Montreal — crowded gatherings of 2000 and 3000 people, which recalled the great anniversaries at Exeter Hall. Wherever it was possible, he had his "children's hour"; addressed 2000 of "the hope of the future" from the nineteen schools of the Forest City, 5000 in Montreal.

As the result of a close study of the problem of creeds and population he suggested that the considerable sums collected for colportage among the French Canadians should be sent direct to the Parent Society, and that the work should be wholly committed to a resident agent, operating from four centres—Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax, N.S., under the immediate control of the Committee. The way was not clear, however, for a change and charge of such magnitude, and operations were continued on the established lines, for the most part with increasing success.

Attention was drawn in 1867 to the large yearly outlay of Upper Canada, but after careful examination of the agency and colportage accounts, it was decided by the Directors that reduction would prejudice the best interests of the Society. In 1869 the great Auxiliary of the West, Toronto, stood pre-eminent, with 253 Branches (359, including London and Kingston with theirs), three travelling agents, and four colporteurs whose journeys extended to settlements outside the range of regular organisation. Its income had grown from £3500 to £5000, its annual circulation from 28,000 to 42,000, and during the fifteen years it had distributed 472,000 copies of Scripture.

Ottawa presented its first free contribution, £50, in 1865. Sometimes three, sometimes five colporteurs were employed, and these brought in accounts of dearth in newly-formed settlements, and pleasant details of many well-thumbed volumes found in the rude lumber-camps. Since its foundation, the Auxiliary, which began with 690 copies, had attained in 1869 a total circulation of 23,700. The Montreal Auxiliary had just agreed to add to its twenty-eight Branches by the transfer of sixteen more which lay within its area; and the new Governor-General, Sir John Young, who had been a staunch friend of the Society in New South Wales, had become its patron.

Though there had seemed little room for expansion in 1863, Montreal now numbered 194 Branches in forty-four counties of Western and Eastern Canada. Its experienced agent and four colporteurs were at work. Its Ladies' Association employed four Biblewomen. In twenty years it had trebled its revenue, and had distributed over 205,000 volumes since the Jubilee. At Quebec, unhappily, things took an unfavourable turn. The Auxiliary's indebtedness to the Bible House, which the Committee offered to cancel, was cleared off by a special effort in 1866; but in the following year, owing to insufficient local support, all paid work was suspended. An appeal was made to the Churches for sympathy and co-operation in 1868, and though no report for the year was issued, operations were resumed.

At this time, it may be noted, the Canadian Missionary Society employed twenty-three Biblemen; but serious colportage among the French Canadians was much embarrassed by the methods of American distributers, who not only freely gave away Bibles and Testaments, but "left them by the roadside, stuck in fences or pushed into the piles of firewood," in the strange hope that they would be valued by the finders.

A word, too, should be said of the feeling of brotherhood

in a common Christianity which the Society carried through the land. In numberless localities there had been but one minister and one form of public worship for many years; but as the backwood settlements became villages, and villages grew into towns, and towns into cities, different denominations and other ministers came and made their homes; but they held aloof from each other, and could take no part in the Association or Branch which they found established, until the travelling agent prevailed in his appeal to those essential truths which draw all denominations within the simple catholicity of the Society.

In the meantime Restigouche had been added to the dozen Auxiliaries of the Maritime Provinces, and their list of Branches had increased from 85 to 168. For several years a well-nigh ubiquitous agent-colporteur, Mr Isaac Smith,[1] wove into one story the field-work of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland. Other unnamed Biblemen, speakers of Gaelic or French, and in 1863 Mr A. Russell, carried still further the range of distribution. In a single year he visited 1362 families and 36 schools, rode 603 miles, sailed 107, and travelled 1362 on foot. Subsequently he covered 5573 miles on land and water, and addressed 309 meetings. Expeditions were made to the tents and huts at the Tangier Gold Mines in Halifax County, to the back settlements on the St John River in New Brunswick, along the "French Shore" and to the fisher steads and hamlets on the north and west coasts of Newfoundland. The work in Newfoundland entailed rough voyages in open boats or small craft, long journeys through misty bogs and forests. So widely separated were the small steadings that a minister of religion could not visit them more than once or twice a year. In some places neither Bible nor clergyman had ever been seen. In others two-thirds of the population were

[1] Appointed 1848, died 1871.

unable to read. In others again men and women "laid hold of a Bible as a hungry man would of bread." The great Island, which exceeded in area Ireland and Wales together, was half Roman Catholic; in the capital the Protestant inhabitants were in a minority of little more than one-third; but alike in prosperous seasons and when the harvest of "the Banks" failed, the work of the Auxiliary went on, and friends were found at St John's to distribute the Committee's grants in Eskimo and English to the half-breeds on the Labrador coast.

Splendid service was rendered by the Ladies' Associations at St John's, Newfoundland, Charlotte Town and New Glasgow in Prince Edward Island, Halifax, Yarmouth, New Glasgow, and James Church, in Nova Scotia, and St John, New Brunswick. At Fredericton, where mention is first made in 1862 of an annual Bible Society sermon preached in turn by the ministers of different denominations, the Ladies' Branch remitted a yearly surplus to the Bible House, and was able to aid in the support of the London Biblewomen. But the place of pre-eminence was held by the Miramichi Ladies' Association, which dated back to the early twenties. They controlled two depôts in Chatham and one in the neighbouring town of Liverpool, and sent out a colporteur in winter to the out-lying villages and the woodlanders.

The jubilee of the Nova Scotia Auxiliary was celebrated at Halifax in 1863. Of the first executive of thirty-six members, elected on the 24th November 1813, not one remained. Only four lived to see the great jubilee; the last survivor, Martin Gay Black, had been in charge of the depôt for upwards of forty years, and had been secretary for over thirty. There is no complete record of the distribution up to this date; but it was probably something over 150,000 copies. From 1835 the free gifts of the Auxiliary amounted to £1975, and in all it remitted close upon £11,000 to the Bible House in the course of its half century.

Here we come upon the remnants of the Micmac or Souriquois Indians, some 2000 or 3000 people who dwelt in Prince Edward Island, and along the adjoining coasts of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; few with any knowledge of English, nearly all Romanists, and deplorably illiterate. The early Jesuits had compiled a prayer-book in their language, but although the manuscript had been transcribed by succeeding generations, it was doubtful whether any had ever mastered the Chinese-like system of word-signs in which it was written. The Rev. S. T. Rand of Hantsport acquired the language with the help of one of the tribe who had left Romanism through reading the English version. Matthew and John were translated, and published at the expense of the Society, the former at Charlotte Town in 1853, the latter at Halifax in 1854. The Indians easily learned the modified Latin character in which they were printed, and a number eagerly read and preserved the books which they received. Luke, Genesis, and the Psalms appeared between 1856 and 1860, and Acts followed in 1863 at the request of the Micmac Mission.

Among the Branches of the Nova Scotia Auxiliary let us not overlook the little Highland Branch at St Ann, Cape Breton, formed by the Rev. Norman M'Leod in 1842. When he and his people sailed for the South Seas and the green strath of Waipu, New Zealand, the work was taken up by Mr William Ross, and year after year his name recurred as president from 1852 to 1884. West River was a Branch of Pictou. It was first mentioned in 1841, with William Matheson as president; but as early as 1835 Mr Matheson had become a regular subscriber to the Society. Up to his death his offerings amounted to £1400, and in 1859, when he passed away "at a good old age, and full of peace," he bequeathed to it the residue of his property, £6738. His son-in-law, thirteen years before, had left it a legacy of £80; six years later his daughter left another bequest of £238.

Nor were these the only generous supporters in the district. In 1866 Mr Yorston left £1000, and in 1868, £1772 accrued under the will of Mr James Crevar.

We now pass into the unbounded hinterland of the Indian and the fur-trader. Supplies of the Scriptures in English, French, and Danish were sent out as they were required to the missionaries in these wild regions—to the stations in the Red River district, to Cumberland House, Norway House, Rossville, in the west; to York Factory, Moose Fort, and Fort George on the eastern shore of James Bay, where even the white man had forgotten how to read. And with the publication of Indian versions the need for the Society's co-operation rapidly increased.

In 1853, as we have seen, the Committee undertook the publication of St John in Cree. The first draft of the Gospel was the work of J. E. Harriett, a factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. He gave his MS. to the Rev. W. Mason, who revised and printed it in 1847 at the Wesleyan Mission press at Rossville, north of Lake Winnipeg. It was reprinted there in 1851, and revised and issued in 1857 on paper provided by the Society. In the latter year the Committee also published Mason's translation of the First Epistle of John, and Ephesians, the Epistle of James and the Second Epistle of Peter by the Rev. Thomas Hurlburt. Mr Mason, who was originally a Wesleyan, joined the Church Missionary Society in 1854, spent four years on his version at York Factory on the south-west shore of the Bay, and returned to England in 1858 with the complete MS. of the Cree Bible. In June 1859 the New Testament appeared in an edition of 5000 copies; the Old Testament followed in 1862. Though her strength was failing, the translator was aided to the last by his wife, a half-caste lady, daughter of Dr Thomas, Governor of the Red River; and when proofs of Malachi were finished, "she closed her eyes in death."

By a strange chance, if chance it may be called, no schooling was required to make the books intelligible to a great number of Indians. About the year 1820 Sequoyah (George Guest), a young Cherokee who had heard of "the talking leaf" of the Pale Faces, contrived a syllabic system of eighty-five characters which superseded the old birch-bark picture-writing of the Red Man.[1] The idea was adapted by the zealous Wesleyan missionary, James Evans, and in a few years—the Indians teaching each other—his phonetic syllabary of dots, dashes, curves, hooks, and triangles became a written language among the tribes between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains.

So the way was prepared. Consignments were despatched to Hudson's Bay by the yearly summer ship, and a grant was voted towards the heavy cost of forwarding the cases to the various stations in the interior. Among the Red Men there was an intense eagerness to hear and read. "Great Fathers, we thank you," they wrote from Rossville. "On Sabbath we listen to this word in our church, and many times we read it to our children. Our hunters carry it with them to the forests." At Trout Lake Fort they sat like children, spellbound for hours, while new worlds opened before them. At York Factory there was no lodge or wigwam in which the Bible was not in daily use.

When they had to be taught, the task was easy. A group gathered on river bank or lake shore, stalwart hunters, old men, children of six and seven; and as the Indians smoked their pipes on the grass, the missionary took a burned stick, and writing first one sign and then another on the face of a rock, taught them to name it aloud. Thus many voices syllabled *Ma . . . ni . . . to*, the name of the Great Spirit; and as they marvelled at his name written on the rock, it seemed as though he himself were almost visibly in the

[1] Thus by F, i, k, c, or equivalent signs, the word "efficacy" is represented by four characters.

midst of them. Of those books, too, which were carried into the forest curious incidents were told. From the west, "thirteen nights away," ten or twelve Indians came in that they might learn to read. They had met a hunter of marten and beaver who had "a great book," which he read to them as they lay about the camp fire: could the missionary read the book? Another Indian asked to be baptized. In the winter the hunting party to which he belonged met other hunters, and "finding that they could read, pray, and sing, we asked them to teach us, and they did so"; and when scarcity of food obliged them to separate, the strangers had given them some of their books. In these distant places no missionary had ever been.

"I am convinced," wrote the Rev. O. German of Oxford House, "that the reading more than the preaching of the Gospel must become the means in the hands of God of evangelising these tribes." It was only in the brief summer months that numbers of them might be found together. In the winter they were scattered over the snowy waste, not more than a family or two in the same place, and their nearest neighbours two and three days' journey away. If a missionary visited any of them then, the dogs were harnessed, the guides fastened their snow-shoes, and two or three hundred miles were traversed, in cold forty or fifty degrees below zero.

Other scholars were at work on this widespread language. In the Cree of the Muskegons, or Swamp Indians, spoken on the lower Saskatchewan, the Gospels of John and Mark by Henry Budd, the first native clergyman, and Archdeacon Hunter, and the First Epistle of John by Mrs Hunter, were published by the Society in Roman character in 1855. These were reprinted in 1876; the Psalms were issued in the same year; and in 1877 St Matthew was added. In the dialect spoken by the small population round Moose Fort, on the south-west corner of James Bay, the New

Testament by Dr Horden, the first Bishop of Moosonee, was published in syllabics in 1876.

This was the first of the linguistic belts across the continent from the Bays to the Rocky Mountains. Two hundred miles north of York Factory there was a second—the belt of the Chipewyan or Tinné (Déné) family, which stretched unbroken over the Great Slave and Athabasca Lakes from Fort Churchill. In 1868-70 the Committee published the Gospels of Mark and John translated into Tinné or Slavé by the Rev. W. Kirby (afterwards Archdeacon) for the tribes on the Mackenzie River. These were based on a version of St Mark by the Rev. W. C. Bompas, which, however, did not appear until 1874, just before his appointment as Bishop. In 1883 a small edition of the Four Gospels, prepared by the Bishop and revised by the Rev. W. D. Reeve, left the press. Meanwhile Archdeacon Kirby had succeeded Mr Mason at York Factory. On his first visit to Fort Churchill, he was joyfully received by the Indians when they heard him speak "in their own tongue," — substantially the Tinné of Mackenzie River. They willingly accepted instruction; in four months he taught them syllabic; a small iron church was built; in 1878 the Society gave them his version of the Four Gospels in Chipewyan, and in 1881 the New Testament was issued.

Before gold was discovered on the Yukon (1863) and many a year before the rush to Klondyke, the C.M.S. missionaries were abroad among the Tukudh Indians ("the Haughty People"), a small tribe which roamed over 100,000 square miles along the Arctic Circle. Mr Kirby first visited them from his station at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River, in the summer of 1861; and his reception was so cordial, their entreaties for his return were so pressing, that he went again in the following summer. In the autumn the Rev. R. M'Donald (afterwards Archdeacon) arrived at Fort Yukon as his head-quarters, was warmly greeted by some twenty Indian

families, and in less than an hour was asked to conduct divine service. To teach these nomads it was necessary to follow them to their winter hunting-grounds, but a great desire was soon awakened in their hearts; the old and the young learned to read, and became teachers in turn.[1] One man travelled 600 miles to a mission station that he might have the opportunity of instruction, and in 1872 the whole tribe of the Klondyke region migrated across country about 200 miles to listen to the truths of the Gospel. Mr M'Donald's Tukudh version of the Four Gospels and the Epistles of John was printed by the Committee in 1873, but two years elapsed before they reached that outpost on "the icy walls of the world." The New Testament was completed, and when the Archdeacon brought it to the Bible House in December 1883, the whole of the Tukudh people—some 2000 souls—had been baptized.

In Ojibwa or Salteaux, spoken by the remnants of a numerous race on the northern shores of Lake Superior, St John and Genesis[2] by the brother chiefs John and Peter Jones had long been published. In 1856, 200 copies of the New Testament by Dr O'Meara, Episcopal minister at Georgetown, were purchased by the Upper Canada Auxiliary, which published in the same year 1000 copies of his version of the Psalms; and in 1874 an edition of the twelve Minor Prophets, by the Rev. R. M'Donald, was printed by the Committee.

An excellent Iroquois scholar was found in the young chief, the Rev. Joseph Onesakenrat, and in 1880 the Four Gospels, printed at the Society's expense, left the press at Montreal. At this date the once terrible Iroquois numbered between 700 and 800 souls in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

[1] As the Cree signs were found unsuitable to the language, the Tukudhs were taught a syllabary containing about 500 vocables in Roman letters.

[2] Genesis, printed by the York (Toronto) Auxiliary in 1835.

Thus up to 1884 the Society issued in eight of these Indian tongues or dialects 38,679 copies of Scripture—Cree, (three dialects) 33,590; Tinné, 1010; Slavé, 253; Chipewyan, 1506; Tukudh, 810; Iroquois, 1000.

Between 1869 and 1884 Auxiliary work steadily advanced. The number of the Canadian Branches grew from 611 to 778.[1] The circulation of Toronto exceeded its output in the preceding half of the period by 109,000 copies; the increase at Montreal was estimated at 10,000 copies; Ottawa distributed 53,000 more in its second than in its first fourteen years. The principal incidents may be briefly chronicled.

In 1870 the Montreal Auxiliary signalised its jubilee by a proposal for the federation of all the societies of the Dominion in a "British American Union, auxiliary to the Parent Society." At that time, and more visibly in later years, the drift of events set in the direction of such a coalition of forces, but the prospect was not realised until after the date at which this history closes. The jubilee retrospect was an occasion for deep thankfulness and encouragement. During its half century the Auxiliary had distributed 395,359 copies of Scripture; its annual receipts had risen to $16,040; its work was now carried on by a distinguished district-secretary, five colporteurs, and five Biblewomen directed by its Ladies' Association; and a new home (which it occupied in 1874) was being prepared for it under the roof of the Young Men's Christian Association.[2] In after years it increased the number of its colporteurs. The mission of the Biblewomen was so highly appreciated that special subscriptions were sent in for their support, and in 1883, the jail, the hospital and the East End had each its female evangelist, while a devout German woman sought out her own people in the great city.

[1] Upper Canada Auxiliary, 403 Branches; Montreal, 203; Ottawa, 68.

[2] The Y.M.C.A. generously provided in its deeds that, in the event of its own extinction, this new building should become the property of the Montreal Auxiliary.

At Toronto the system of travelling agents was changed in 1871. One permanent travelling district-secretary was retained, and the Branches were committed, in defined areas, to the supervision of the local ministers of various denominations. (In 1878 there were twenty-seven of these, and a staff of seven or eight colporteurs.) In 1873 the Kingston Associate Auxiliary transferred to Upper Canada all its territory (twenty-nine Branches), except a home circuit of twenty-five miles, which was to be worked by its committee. The yearly grant of £200, which had been voted to Toronto by the Committee for a number of years, ceased at the end of 1875. For some time the Auxiliary had been able to carry on its own work, to assist weaker organisations, and to transmit considerable sums to the Bible House as its contribution towards the Bible-work of the world. In 1879 the London Auxiliary, which we left an "associate" in its Forest City days, became wholly independent as "the Western Ontario Bible Society," with the Bishop of Huron as president.

Ottawa, on the resignation of its travelling agent after ten years' service, adopted the ministerial system of Toronto in 1875. Occasionally it had to complain of coldness among the rural clergy, but there were zealous pastors who did not shrink from leaving their sleighs and struggling through waist-deep snow to solitary houses in the backwoods. Two years later we find that many ministers had agreed to observe the Sunday preceding the annual meeting as "Bible Sunday." For the most part its six or seven colporteurs travelled 3000 and 4000 miles among the lumber regions on the Gatineau, the Lievre, and Upper Ottawa Rivers. The effect of their intercourse was seen in the better moral tone which began to prevail in the camps. In one place a little company sat up night after night in their shanty (a corruption of the French *chantier*) "that they might have a quiet time for searching the Scriptures" after their mates had gone to bed; in another "some men said they had never seen a Bible, and wished to

know what was in it. The colporteur read some chapters to them. The story of the Cross affected them much, and each bought a copy for himself." From these rude toilers in the bush as much as £223 was freely given in support of the cause up to 1881. And in these distant tracts of the forest bands and hunting parties of the Red Men were also met.

The Quebec Auxiliary was never "delivered out of great waters and the hand of strange children." With help from Toronto and the Bible House, it maintained only one colporteur or two, and a single Biblewoman was employed by the Ladies' Association; but in that great stretch of territory—800 miles from the Gulf of St Lawrence to Montreal—in which there were not a dozen Protestant churches outside Quebec, Ultramontanism, roused by the Papal reverses in Italy, relaxed no effort to maintain its supremacy. The colporteurs (one of them a convert of Chiniquy's) were tracked throughout their course, the Scriptures they sold seized by the priests and burned, the men denounced from the pulpit, the imprimatur and "recommendation" of the Sacy version declared a Protestant forgery. Still, in spite of the spiritual terrors of the confessional and the unblessed death-bed, there were awakenings, convictions, escapes from ecclesiastical despotism. More would doubtless have been accomplished but for the illiteracy of so many of the *habitans*.

One of the notable points in these years was the reiterated call for De Sacy's translation as the only version of the Scriptures that had any chance of acceptance among French Canadians. The Ottawa Auxiliary decided in its favour in 1869; Quebec reported in 1876 that scarcely anything could be done without it; it was asked for by the French Canadian Mission in 1878. In 1880, when one of the popular Roman Catholic jubilees brought a great concourse of people to Quebec, 10,000 Testaments of this version, supplied by the Committee, were distributed on railways

and steamboats, while a copy was sent to every priest in the diocese. A few books were destroyed, but there was evidence that a very large number were preserved and studied. Two years later 1500 Testaments and 1000 newly printed Gospels were consigned to the old city, which derived its name from the strait or narrows, termed "quebec" by the Algonquins.[1] "It was one of your De Sacy Bibles that brought me first of all to the light," said Pastor Chiniquy at an interview with the Committee in February 1883. "When you go to a Roman Catholic with a 'Protestant Bible,' you are simply losing time. . . . The priest just laughs at your Protestant Bible, because he thinks, often honestly, that it is false, and he lights his fire with it. . . . The errors in the Vulgate are for Roman Catholics really only like little spots on the sun; you notice the spots there very little, while you know that there is light enough to lighten the whole world. . . . I am in need of one thousand Bibles to-day—not Testaments, but Bibles" —and to serve his purpose they must be De Sacy's. A thousand were granted from the forthcoming edition with the alternate readings which were from that time printed in the margin of all Vulgate translations issued by the Society. "The very thing we wanted!" said Chiniquy, when he examined these readings.

Another point worth mention was the spread of Bible Society literature. The Upper Canada Auxiliary started a bi-monthly *Bible Society Recorder* in 1870, but towards the eighties the *Monthly Reporter* and *Gleanings for the Young* became remarkably popular in all parts of Ontario. No writing indeed could have better served the objects of the Society than the simple, touching, and soul-stirring records published in their pages by men who were "a part of all they told."

Away in the West, when Manitoba had been added to the Dominion and the first Riel rising had been quelled, the

[1] Dawson, *The St Lawrence Basin*, p. 236.

Toronto Auxiliary opened a depôt at Fort Garry (Winnipeg); in 1872 the Manitoba Bible Society was formed, and first one, then two colporteurs were sent by Toronto to work among the settlers in the province. If Manitoba was ever an independent Auxiliary, it soon became no more than a Branch of Upper Canada; and among the other Branches was Emerson, due south of Winnipeg, which had three depôts, one of them among the German Mennonites. The vague North-West Territory had been divided into Assinboia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Athbasca, and Keewatin. A long section of the Canadian Pacific Line stretched across the prairies towards Regina. Churches and schools adorned the Red River and the Assiniboine. Further north, native or country-born pastors were stationed on the English River and Saskatchewan, and in 1883 the Toronto Auxiliary had its depôt at Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie.

Crossing to the shores of the Pacific, we find the Committee sending grants of Scriptures in 1876 to the jail chaplain at Victoria, Vancouver, and to the C.M.S. mission among the Haida Indians in Queen Charlotte Islands. At this date a beginning had been made with translation into the Tsimshean of Metlakahtla, but when Bishop Ridley was appointed three years later to the See of Caledonia nothing had been completed in any of the nine languages of British Columbia. The Rev. R. Jamieson of New Westminster was appointed local agent by the Upper Canada Auxiliary in 1881, and a small number of Chinese Testaments and German, French, and English Bibles were sold by colportage. In the same summer the Arctic mission-ship *Evangeline* was launched at Victoria, "to prevent a too frequent succession of bishops,"[1] and in the next year the first Portion in Kwagutl, or Kwakiutl—510 copies of St Matthew, translated by the Rev. A. J. Hall of Alert Bay — was printed by the Committee for the tribe in Vancouver.

[1] *See* vol. iii. p. 55.

Of the Auxiliaries and Branches in the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, though old friends passed away and the spirit of the age brought many changes, the record was also one of sustained vigour and increasing usefulness. When New Brunswick (St John) celebrated its jubilee in 1869 there remained of the goodly fellowship of 1819 but one survivor—Dr James Paterson, secretary from its foundation to 1865.[1] In 1872 almost every Branch in the province had its depôt, and three years later the system of congregational collections was adopted. Both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (Halifax), which was able to report that there was "hardly anywhere a dearth of Scriptures," had been happy in their agent-colporteur Mr Russell. In a single year that stalwart Bible-man travelled 6867 miles by rail and horse, 1675 by sea, and 577 on foot, and addressed 240 meetings in 200 different places. In 1870 appeared Mr Rand's version of Exodus in Micmac, and of St John in Maliseet, the language of a small tribe in New Brunswick; and in 1874 the issue of Romans-Revelation completed the Micmac New Testament. Some years elapsed before New Brunswick recovered from the fire of June 1877, which destroyed twelve churches at St John and property to the value of three millions sterling; but the seventieth anniversary of Nova Scotia, 1883, was "one of the most successful in its history."

There are no returns of the actual distribution of these years, but the financial accounts light up the condition of the four Atlantic divisions. During the period the province of New Brunswick remitted to the Bible House, in free contributions and on purchase account, £11,600 in the first fifteen years, £12,449 in the second; the province of Nova Scotia, £7055 in the first, £9495 in the second; Prince Edward Island, £1575 in the first, and £2269 in the second fifteen years.[2]

[1] He died, one of its vice-presidents, in 1874.

[2] The following figures show how, when local needs were largely supplied, the

The dearth of a scattered population, the bush clearings, the thousands of miles of winding coast were reflected in the finances of Newfoundland. The Auxiliary remitted £1280 free and £1541 in purchase during the first, and £1227 free and £1448 purchase in the second half of the period. The ladies at St John's employed their first Biblewoman in 1871, and year after year the colporteur, helped by his young son, visited the small hamlets, the lonely families, in the creeks and on the islands. Once at least three months were spent among the colonists on the bleak shores of Labrador. Land-travel was at times as dangerous as seafaring. In 1879 the veteran Francis Scott lost his way in the woods; spent the night under a tree, wet to the waist, fireless, hungry, and sleepless; wandered next day for hours through marsh and thicket in a dense fog. More than once, when the fog lifted, he climbed some height for an outlook, but on all sides it was the primeval forest, with an occasional rocky ridge overtopping the trees. When at last in the evening he struck a path which led to a cabin, the door was suspiciously shut in his face. Darkness gathered, hope had almost died, when he saw a distant light. It came from a poor hut, where a kind-hearted woman gave him food and shelter.

The total receipts from these Atlantic provinces during the period amounted to £49,941, of which £32,060 was given in free contributions.

Of the circulation of the Canadian Auxiliaries, too, there is no complete statement. Toronto distributed 1,053,000 copies in the thirty years, and at the beginning of 1884 its aggregate from 1840 stood at 1,240,000; Ottawa circulated 112,137; the output of Montreal was estimated at 421,100,

provinces were enabled, through unrelaxed effort, to contribute more freely to the general purposes of the Society:—

	New Brunswick		Nova Scotia		Prince Edward Island	
	Free	Purchase	Free	Purchase	Free	Purchase
1855-69	£7309	£4291	£3819	£3236	£536	£1019
1870-84	9228	3221	7353	2142	1287	982

and its total from the beginning was about 584,000; but here again the money accounts enable us to observe the unflagging efforts of the Auxiliaries to supply the ever-increasing population moving into the west and to take part in the great work outside their borders.

The Upper and Lower Canadian Auxiliaries

1855-69	Free,	£16,561	Purchase,	£37,830	Total,	£54,391
1870-84	,,	30,724	,,	48,479	,,	79,203
	,,	47,285	,,	86,309	,,	133,594[1]

From the whole of British North America, then, £183,535 was transmitted during the period, and of this amount £79,344 in free contributions, a small proportion of which was earmarked for such special purposes as the Spanish Fund, the new Bible House, the Franco-German war. On the other hand, the Committee expended £10,996 in aiding the different Auxiliaries to defray the expense of colportage and agency work.

The Auxiliaries lacked neither the prestige of distinguished patrons nor the service of men of signal ability. From 1846 till his death in 1858, the Hon. Robert Baldwin, C.B., "one of the most admirable figures in the political history of the Dominion," was president of the Upper Canada Society,[2] which enjoyed the patronage of two Governors-General, Sir E. Walker Head and Baron Monck, two Bishops of Huron, and the Bishops of Toronto, Niagara, and Algoma. From 1860 to 1884 and for many years after, the Hon. G. W. Allan occupied the president's chair.

Four Governors-General were patrons of Ottawa—Baron Monck, Sir John Young (afterwards Lord Lisgar), Lord

[1] The following particulars throw light over the field:—

Toronto—free,	£37,916,	purchase,	£56,307	=	£94,223
Montreal ,,	4626,	,,	20,205		24,831
Quebec ,,	20,	,,	2016		2036
Ottawa ,,	3472,	,,	4846		8318

[2] His son Robert became permanent secretary in 1874.

Dufferin, and the Marquis of Lorne. In 1868 Mr George Hay was elected president, and he lived to see the Centenary.

Among the distinguished men of the Montreal Auxiliary was the Hon. James Ferrier, president from 1866 to 1888.

The first three Bishops of Huron (Drs Cronyn, Hellmuth, and Baldwin) were successive presidents of the London Auxiliary. In 1882 its venerable secretary, Dr Ephraim Evans, wrote: "I am just one year older than your noble Society, and as early as the year 1812 was soliciting pence from my juvenile acquaintances in my native town of Hull for its maintenance." In that year and in that town one remembers another boyish collector, who became Dean Close of Carlisle.

In Newfoundland, where the Society was strengthened by the patronage of Bishop and Governors, the Hon. Nicholas Stabb was president from 1856 to 1877, and for many years afterwards Mrs Stabb guided the work of the St John's Ladies' Association.

The Hon. Chief Justice (afterwards Sir Robert) Hodgson presided over the Prince Edward Island Auxiliary from 1855 to 1881. He had been attached to the Society for more than half a century, and was succeeded by the Hon. Justice Young, a valued friend of nearly forty-five years' standing. Lord Lisgar, when he was Sir John Young, was patron from 1869 to 1872.

The Hon. Chief Justice Sir William Young and the Hon. S. L. Shannon were among the presidents of Halifax, Nova Scotia; and from 1860 to 1883 Dr G. J. Farish presided over the Yarmouth Auxiliary, while Mrs Farish directed the Ladies' Association.

On the roll of St John's, New Brunswick, appear the names of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. J. Manners Sutton (afterwards Viscount Canterbury), as patron, the Hon. Judge Parker, twenty-five years president, and Dr Le Baron Botsford, president 1868-87. With a brief interval the presidency of Fredericton, New Brunswick, was held

from 1855 to his death in 1878 by the Hon. Lemuel A. Wilmot, Judge and Lieutenant-Governor, whose strong individuality and magnetic eloquence made him one of the most conspicuous persons in the Maritime Provinces. Mrs Wilmot, who survived him, presided over the Ladies' Branch until 1882.

In August 1871 the Moravian Brethren celebrated the centenary of their mission in Labrador. The *Harmony*—the fourth of the name, a barque of about 250 tons, launched and dedicated at Yarmouth in April 1861—lies off Nain in the waning summer days. From its bows an angel in white and gold sounds through his trumpet the greeting inscribed on the scroll: "Glory to God, Peace on Earth." Fifty years back an earlier *Harmony* had brought a portion which all but completed the Eskimo New Testament.[1] In this centenary year the little ship carries the completion of the Eskimo Bible. An edition of the twelve books, Joshua–Esther, appeared in 1869; the last instalment of the version, Job–Song of Solomon, was printed at Stolpen in Saxony in 1871, and 500 copies, sent over to the Bible House, left the binders' hands just in time for the yearly summer voyage.

Quaint and fervid letters from the Eskimo of the Nain congregation told of the deep thankfulness with which they received the Word of Life in their native tongue. Between 1876 and 1878 a revised edition of the New Testament passed through the Stolpen press, and these brought the Society's issues of the Labrador version to a total of 16,500 copies. Between 1869 and 1879, £442 was disbursed by the Committee for these printings.

For the Eskimo tribes frequenting the shores of Cumberland Sound, an adaptation of the Labrador text of St Luke was prepared by the Rev. E. J. Peck of the Church Missionary Society, and 500 copies were published in 1881.

[1] *Revelation* was wanting.

CHAPTER XL

CLOSE OF THE FOURTH PERIOD

Such was the story, marvellous in its picturesque surprises, more marvellous still in its spiritual illumination, of the thirty years which had gone by since the Jubilee.

To the Society's list of Bible tongues, now numbering 261, had been added 109 languages, in which some of the wildest races of mankind had begun to spell out the message of their Father in Heaven.

Scattered over many lands five hundred of the Society's colporteurs were bearing the Word of Life to every home that it was possible to reach.

In the Protestant North the great purpose of the founders had been so far realised that the first steps had been taken to leave the distribution of the Scriptures to native enterprise and piety.

The period closed with an expenditure which had only twice been exceeded, and with an unprecedented income which, after satisfying all claims, provided a balance of upwards of £51,000 towards future expansion.

The Society had now completed eighty years of missionary labour. During that time it had distributed at home and abroad, 100,000,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions.[1] Whether one regarded the one year or the eighty years, its experience had been that of the Psalmist: "The Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad."

[1] Bibles, 31,931,907; Testaments, 47,306,498; Portions, 20,797,528.

FIFTH PERIOD, 1884—1904

CHAPTER XLI

THE LAST HOME SURVEY (I.)

It was a time of happy auspices. The end of the Fourth Period coincided with the fourth centenary of the birth of Luther—with whose version of the Bible "the Reformation ceased to be merely a denial of errors, and became an affirmation of great principles";[1] this the fifth and last, opened with the fifth centenary of the death of Wycliffe, who, translating from the Vulgate, gave his countrymen their first English Bible. Yet another incident brought back historic memories of a mighty testimony. On leaving the annual meeting in Exeter Hall on 7th May 1884, the aged President, Lord Shaftesbury, drove along the Embankment and unveiled, in one of the gardens near Charing Cross, the statue of the martyred Tindale, to whom England owed her first translation of the New Testament from the original Greek.[2]

All over the country hearts were stirred by the commemoration of the Wycliffe anniversary. In the parish which bore his name, on the banks of Tees, Bishop Alford preached to a crowded congregation in the ivy-covered church that belonged to the time of "the Evangelical

[1] From the speech of Dr Angus, at the May meeting of 1857.

[2] The erection of the memorial—one of Boehm's fine works—was chiefly due to Mr John MacGregor ("Rob Roy"), a member of the Committee; and the name of the Society, through the subscriptions of friends on its behalf, found a place on the pedestal.

Doctor." To the people of the very poor parish of Ludgarshall, where he lived for six years, "to be near to the libraries of Oxford" (twelve miles away), the Committee readily voted a grant of 100 Bibles. For the first time, too, a Bible Society meeting was held at North Nibley, on the slope of the hills overshadowed by Tindale's monument.

The year was one of the most notable in the Home annals. Though severe industrial depression emptied hundreds of houses in various towns and left tens of thousands of acres tenantless in the country, there had never yet been such figures as appeared in the Report of 1884-85. Donations and legacies were the largest ever received. Expenditure reached the outstanding figure of £231,000; yet the income showed a balance in favour of the engagements for a fresh year. The circulation had leaped up to 4,161,000—a million in excess of 1883-84, and a quarter of a million more than in the "record" year 1871.

The cause of this extraordinary numerical increase was the success of the Penny Testament, issued on 16th July 1884. It was eagerly welcomed everywhere. "My daughter," wrote Lord Shaftesbury, "has already disposed of twenty dozen. The children buy them, as I was sure they would, like apples." Five hundred thousand copies were sold in four months; 955,000 in less than nine. A Penny Welsh Testament followed in 1885. The little English book was a delight on the West Indian plantations. It was chosen by the Australian Auxiliaries as a memorial of Queen Victoria's jubilee, to be distributed free among the children of the State schools; the Society sent out 300,000 copies for the purpose, and each contained in facsimile the text, "On earth peace, goodwill toward men," graciously transcribed and signed by her Majesty. In 1890 Halfpenny Gospels in large type came into competition with the Penny Testament, but up to 1903 7,913,191 copies of the latter were sold throughout Greater Britain. The original cost of production was a fraction over

2d. a copy, and though the cost was afterwards slightly reduced, this effort to place the Living Word within reach of every one—to induce even the poorest to possess copies of their own—involved the publishing department in a loss of close upon £27,000, without taking into account freight and carriage at home and abroad.

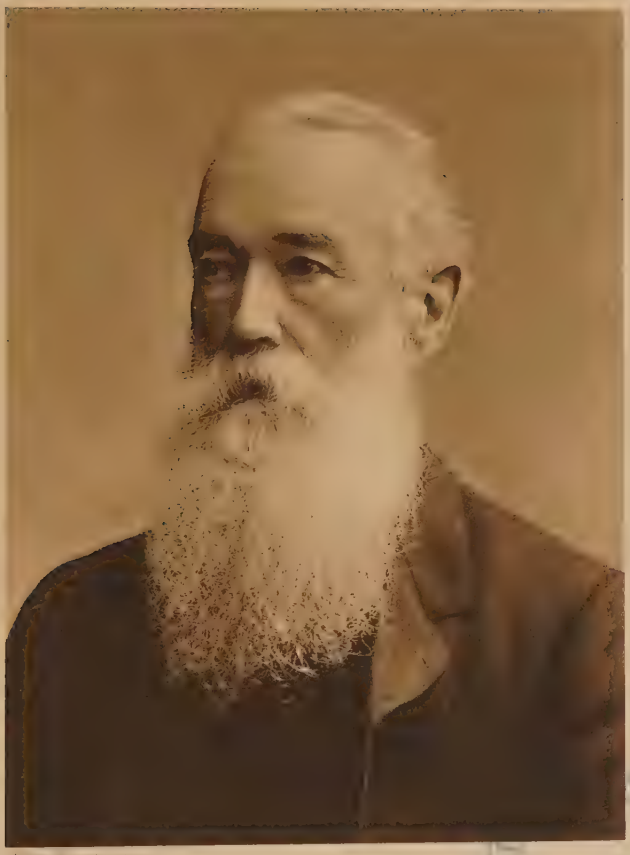
With a beginning so prosperous, the story of the Society passed into its latest and most brilliant phase. Translations into 117 new languages, many of them reduced to writing for the first time, gave an undreamed-of extension to missionary possibilities. The 27,000,000 copies of Scripture issued in the first fifty years, the 72,000,000 issued in the next thirty, were eclipsed by the vast total of 86,000,000 required in the concluding twenty. Such results were not obtained, as we shall see, without incessant oversight, sustained exertion, the prayers of good men, and the large liberality of a Christian people. Then too, while God carried on His work, He buried many of His most gifted servants.

By a tragic accident in July 1884 the Society lost its bright young Secretary, the Rev. C. E. B. Reed. He had gone to the Engadine for the recovery of his voice. Accompanied by a friend on the 29th, he crossed the Morteratsch Glacier, and while descending the rocky zigzag stairway which leads to Pontresina, he turned to take a last look and make some cheery remark to the guide. A slip—a false step—and in a moment he had fallen over the brink, and was flung from spur to spur, 150 feet into the gulf below. He had just completed his thirty-ninth year. His tour through the agencies as far as the Persian border had given him mastery of a large section of the work, and many years of usefulness seemed clear before him. He was laid to rest in the village cemetery at Pontresina, in view of the grassy slopes, the old Saracen tower shaded by pine-trees, the pine-woods climbing the sunny hills, and around and over all the snowy peaks he loved so

dearly. On the day of his funeral a Bible in Hungarian which he had ordered for a Magyar lady, that she might search the Scriptures for herself, reached Pontresina. A simple cross of white marble was raised over his grave, and bore the text, "He walked with God: and he was not; for God took him." In acknowledgment of the kindness of the people, the family presented a pulpit to the English and a communion service to the Scotch Church at Pontresina. Three copies of the Bible—in English, French, and German—were placed "in affectionate remembrance" by the Committee in the Boval Hut at the head of the glacier. Inquiry was also made into the condition of the Romansch congregations in the Upper Engadine; pastors and other friends were consulted, and plans were adopted for awakening a more lively interest in the Word of God and facilitating its diffusion.

For the second time Canon Edmonds filled the vacancy at the Bible House, until on 1st December the Rev. W. Major Paull, for thirteen years District-secretary, took office as Mr Reed's successor.

On the 6th May 1885 Lord Shaftesbury appeared in Exeter Hall, for the last time, at the annual meeting of the Society. It was pathetic beyond words to see that tall, spare figure—the wan face worn with illness, the far-away look in the eyes — pass slowly to the President's chair. "His very presence was a speech," to use the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Tears were mingled with the cheering when he told how it had pleased God to lay him aside for nearly twelve months, and how it would have gone to his heart if now, for the first time in more than thirty years, he had been unable to be present. He spoke of the mighty influences for good which had been set in motion by the publication of the Penny Testament; and referring to his work among the poor, he hoped he might be able to go among them



The Rev. R. B. Girdlestone.

again. "My prayer shall always be that I may die in harness."

Among the speakers at that gathering were Sir William Muir, Vice-President, who took his lordship's place when he withdrew, Archbishop Benson, Professor Elmslie, Signor Meille, the agent for Italy, the Rev. W. Muirhead, the veteran Shanghai missionary, Bishop Cheetham of Sierra Leone, and Mr R. Needham Cust, whose linguistic researches were throwing light on grave version problems.

In the brief interval that remained to him, Lord Shaftesbury strove to fulfil every duty. His last speech was delivered on behalf of suffering children; his last official act as President was the signing of the inscribed Bible presented to the youngest daughter of the Queen on her marriage. Twice he laid down the pen in his feebleness, then with a supreme effort he wrote his name, and breathed the prayer, "God bless Princess Beatrice and her husband! God bless them!" For some little time he seemed to rally by the summer sea at Folkestone, but the weather became treacherous, and his lungs were affected. He passed peacefully away on the 1st October 1885. An affecting service, attended by high and low, was held in Westminster Abbey, where he would have been interred, had he not wished to be laid near his wife at his Dorset home, St Giles's, Wimborne.

Of the Committee of 1850-51 which invited him to become President, only one remained, Henry Robarts, now a Vice-President; and the Earl of Chichester alone survived of the distinguished men who spoke at the first annual meeting over which he presided. The Earl, who had been a Vice-President from 1830 and stood at the top of the list, died on the 15th March 1886. Mr Robarts' call came earlier—5th November 1885. His father, Nathaniel, had been a member of Committee from 1820 to 1841; the son served without a break from 1841 to 1884, when he was enrolled among the Vice-Presidents. During his long tenure of

office he had given constant and valuable aid in the printing and issue department to Mr Cockle and his successor Mr Franklin. In the summer of 1885 Mr Franklin himself resigned his position. Mr J. J. Brown took his place as head of the department, and after eighteen years' service retired through ill-health towards the close of 1903.

On the 21st January 1886, yet another link with the receding past was broken by the death of the Society's fourth Treasurer, the warm-hearted and open-handed Joseph Hoare, who had succeeded Mr Bockett in 1869, had been a Vice-President from 1876, and was the successful "pleader-in-chief" for the Penny Testament. A worthy successor was found in another Vice-President, Mr Joseph Gurney Barclay, a direct descendant of the stalwart Quaker, Barclay of Urie.[1]

In February 1886, with the approval of a general meeting, Rule XV., which regulated the chairmanship at general and Committee meetings, was re-drafted for the convenience of business,[2] and in accordance with its later form Mr Schoolcraft Burton was elected the first Chairman of the Committee.

Meanwhile the Earl of Harrowby had been invited to succeed Lord Shaftesbury as the fourth President of the Society. A long family association warranted the choice. From 1816 onward the name of a Harrowby had never been absent from the roll of Vice-Presidents. The second Earl headed the deputation which asked Lord Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) to accept the position of President. When the Earl died in 1882, it was Lord Shaftesbury who desired his son to continue the tradition of his house. Lord

[1] For an incident in the life of David Barclay of Urie, *see* Whittier's gallant ballad:—

"Up the streets of Aberdeen,
By the Kirk and College Green,
Rode the Laird of Ury."

Robert Barclay, the Quaker "Apologist," was the son of David.

[2] *See* note, vol. i. p. 19.

Harrowby's acceptance of the Presidency was yielded on the understanding that he should be free to resign after five years, without the slightest implication that his interest in the cause had diminished. In acknowledging the warmth of his reception at the Bible House, he declared that of all Societies this was the nearest to his heart; "The Bible Society has always been a watchword in our house." One of his earliest recollections of his grandfather, at the close of his long political career, recalled his enthusiastic support of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and his father had told him that *his* first subscription was given in its aid.

The details of the terrible sufferings of the infant Church in Uganda reached England in the autumn of 1886, and drew all denominations together in common sympathy. A request for remembrance in prayer was received at the Bible House from the Church Missionary Society; and in January 1887, on the suggestion of the secretaries of several missionary societies,[1] the Committee arranged for united intercession on behalf of the missions throughout the world. Invitations were sent to the directors and officials of forty societies and associations, and the meeting, which took place at the Bible House on the 14th, with the new President in the chair, was attended by over a hundred and sixty persons, though the streets of London were almost blotted out by a blinding fog. The same course was adopted in the following January; and out of this wise and beautiful recourse to prayer arose the practice, some time later, of suggesting in each number of the *Reporter*, "the particular subjects which called for thanksgiving and supplication" on behalf of the Society.[2]

In commemoration of the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign the Committee published a quarto Bible, printed in

[1] A tribute to the catholicity of the Bible Society and its central place among Missions.

[2] The idea apparently originated with the Secretary, Mr Major Paull, who also introduced the weekly prayer gathering of the Bible House staff. (*See* vol. ii. p. 165*n*.)

clear type on India paper and furnished with new maps embodying the latest results of Palestine exploration. A copy in four volumes, sumptuously bound in scarlet morocco, was graciously accepted by her Majesty. Long afterwards, when the royal jubilee presents were exhibited, that copy found no place among them. "No," an inquirer was informed, "her Majesty has retained that for her own use."

At the close of 1887 the over-pressure on the Secretaries, whose time was absorbed by the ever-crowding details of affairs in all parts of the world, was relieved by the creation of two new departments. An able volunteer, and Life Governor since 1885, the Rev. T. Aston Binns of Clifton, was appointed to co-operate with the District-secretaries as "Honorary Home Secretary"; and the work of preparing the annual report and of editing the magazines and miscellaneous literature of the Society was intrusted to the Rev. George Wilson, M.A., of the Presbyterian Church, Canonbury, as the first "Superintendent of the Literary Department."

The Headmaster of Harrow was not the first to express surprise that there were good men and good Christians who abstained from furthering the objects of the Society.[1] The fact had long been regretted, and in 1889 an attempt was made in one direction to meet it. It cost the Society at that time £50,000 a year to print the Scriptures in English, and an equal sum to print them in foreign tongues; if a fund were started exclusively for printing the Word of God, would not adherents of missionary societies who held aloof willingly subscribe towards the production of the versions for which their missions depended on the liberality of the Bible Society? The suggestion, made by Bishop Mitchinson at the Manchester Church Congress, was adopted by the Bishop of Newcastle (Dr Wilberforce); the special

[1] Mr Welldon, afterwards Metropolitan of India and Vice-President of the Society, at the May Meeting 1891.

fund was opened, and, beginning with a donation of five guineas, realised £4731 up to the Centenary.

In this year (1889) the Bible House Library was enriched by the purchase of 1200 volumes, the rarest versions of the Scriptures in English, French, Welsh, Gaelic, and Anglo-Saxon — books whose history was practically that of the Reformed Christianity of these islands. These were the incomparable collection of Mr Francis Fry, enthusiastic bibliographer and collector of old Bibles, who had often entertained the Society's representatives at Cotham, Bristol. After his death in November 1886 his son, Theodore Fry, M.P., was anxious that the collection should pass into the possession of the Society. It was valued by a British Museum expert at £7589—some of the rare editions were alone worth from £200 to £400,—but Mr Theodore Fry agreed to take £6000, and to contribute £1500 towards the purchase, and members of the family subscribed £200 more. Not a penny of the Society's funds was available for a purchase of this description, and probably the collection would have been lost both to the Bible House and to this country, had not Dr William Wright taken the matter in hand. A number of warm friends generously responded to his representations, the sum of £4300 was raised, and a brass plate recording the names of the donors was affixed to the collection, which it was decided to keep entire.

In 1890 there were disquieting signs that the normal income of the Society was not keeping pace with the steady development of its operations; and in March 1891, for the third year in succession, the receipts fell far short of the expenditure. These deficits were the results of an expanding outlay rather than of a failing revenue, but the expansion had been due to the pressure of opportunities, for which Providence seemed to have supplied the means. At no earlier period, indeed, did the work appear to enjoy a larger blessing than at this moment. Six-and-twenty foreign

agencies were in operation; the Word of God was streaming forth from 230 depôts; scattered over the four quarters of the earth, 660 colporteurs were selling the Scriptures throughout the year at the rate of 118 copies in every hour of the twenty-four; 330 Biblewomen were spreading the Gospel in the zenanas of the East; everywhere translators were busy; in China, after the rivalries of forty years the Missions had agreed upon "standard versions"; in Europe, where the spread of education "without a glimmer of religion" called for the Society's best efforts, the revolt of the people against clerical intolerance was accompanied by an increasing willingness to read the Scriptures.

At the Mansion House on the 14th April 1891 the Duke of Connaught, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Benson), and the Rev. Dr Moulton, president of the Wesleyan Conference, appealed to the citizens of London for heartier support; and at the annual meeting in May,[1] a resolution calling for more generous co-operation from all who loved the Bible was moved by the Rev. W. G. Lawes, the veteran missionary of Niue and New Guinea, who reminded his hearers that even from that island in the South Seas, for which Captain Cook thought the fittest name was Savage, the 5000 inhabitants had sent the Society £1500 for the Scriptures. Some time later copies of the speech of the Archbishop at the Mansion House and of an earlier address by the Bishop of Durham (Dr Westcott)[2] were posted to every beneficed clergyman in England and Wales; an appeal signed by Dr Stoughton and other denominational leaders was forwarded

[1] Lord Harrowby was absent through illness, and Sir T. Fowell Buxton presided.

[2] "If the members of the Anglican Church," said the Bishop, "fail to support the Society most generously by their sympathy and advocacy, it can only be from not thoroughly understanding the largeness of the debt they owe it;" and he fully endorsed the statement of his predecessor, Dr Lightfoot: "All the Missionary Societies make use of the publications of the Bible Society, and it seems to me to be neither reasonable nor fair to do this, and at the same time to withhold a word or act of sympathy." Similarly at the meeting of the Sheffield Auxiliary in October 1891, the new Archbishop of York, Dr Maclagan, declared that "the work of the mission-field could absolutely not be carried on without the Bible Society."

to all Nonconformist ministers; and a series of suggestions was issued to stimulate and guide the Auxiliaries. At the close of the year the free contributions from the Auxiliaries showed distinct improvement, but the total receipts proved to be the lowest since 1882-83; and once more the account closed with a deficit, which with the deficits of the three preceding years exceeded £66,800. Nine new languages had been added to the version list; 2,200,000 copies of Scripture—the largest number yet recorded—had been issued from the depôts abroad; £640 was required for the daily outlay of the Society. The sum spent on the production of the Scriptures alone—£117,402—exceeded by £3000 the whole of the new income received in the twelve months from the Christian Churches of the world.

Lord Harrowby laid the state of affairs before the annual meeting in May 1892. The surpluses of more prosperous years had been exhausted in keeping the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, and the only alternatives now before them were a substantial increase of the regular income or a severe retrenchment of the Society's enterprises. His vivid survey of East and West made clear how little there was in the work or in its methods which the audience would willingly restrict. A burst of missionary zeal was passing over the country, and it was not a time to embarrass missions by raising the prices of the versions they used, but it was not unreasonable to ask that those who were helping the great missionary societies should remember the Bible Society, on which *their* labours depended, and on which their success entailed ever-increasing demands for old and new versions of the Word of God.[1] A resolution

[1] Of the eighty versions used by the Church Missionary Society in their fields, 80 per cent. came from the Bible Society alone, and most of the Church Missionary Society translations into fifty-two languages would never have seen the light but for the intervention of the Society. *See* an article by Mr Henry Morris, a distinguished member of both Societies, published in the *Reporter* for May 1892, with the hearty approval of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society.

urging all Bible-lovers to enable the Society to use its opportunities was carried by acclamation. The President announced that two sums of £500 had just been promised, provided £50,000 were raised by 30th June; and an appeal was at once issued for immediate subscriptions to a special deficit fund, and for the permanent addition of £25,000 to the ordinary annual income.

Every branch of trade and agriculture was labouring under distress, but the terms of these and other conditional donations were relaxed, and the deficit fund eventually realised £27,226. The free contributions of the Auxiliaries rose to £57,264—the highest point for upwards of twenty years. By temporary economies, some reduction of colportage, and abstention from new undertakings, the expenditure was lessened by £13,800. Lastly, a legacy of £20,000 was left by a devoted friend, the Rev. James Spurrell of Brighton. In March 1893, though the circulation had for the fourth time exceeded four millions, the Society entered on a period of surpluses, and these continued for six years. By 1895 the accumulated deficits had been cleared off; the work in Holland and Norway had passed into the charge of the native Bible Societies; and the transfer of Denmark had been arranged.

In 1892 Mr Caleb Rickman Kemp, whose services as a member dated back to 1880, was appointed Chairman of the Committee, a position to which he was re-elected with acclamation, year by year, to the close of this history.[1] Mr Henry Morris, who joined the Committee in 1879, was voted to the Vice-chair in 1893; and in 1902 Mr Williamson Lamplough, who had been eight years a

[1] Mr Kemp resigned in April 1908, and after some months of failing health, passed peacefully away at Lewes on the 1st October, at the age of seventy-two—in the long succession of staunch and generous Quaker supporters not the least memorable as a counsellor, or the least beloved as a great-hearted Christian. He was twice Mayor of Lewes, and for a number of years Chairman of the Lewes County Bench. His portrait, by Herman Herkomer, was presented to the Society by his colleagues in July 1903, and preserves his likeness among its master-builders.

member of the Committee, was unanimously called to be Deputy-Chairman.

It was a curious illustration of the conservative character of the Bible House that though the name of one woman, Lady Grey, appeared for forty-seven years (1811-57) on the list of Honorary Life Governors, it was not until 1892, thirty-five years after her death, that a roll of Lady Life Governors was started in recognition of the splendid co-operation of women at home and abroad. At the close of the Centenary year it contained one hundred and twenty-four names. So, too, in June 1900 the Committee tardily resolved "that, wherever deemed advisable, lady speakers may be employed to address meetings on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society." Nearly seventy years had gone by since women were first allowed to attend the public gatherings of the Society.[1] In 1893 an honorary list of Foreign members was opened with the name of Bishop Szász of Budapest, reviser of the old Magyar Bible, and sixty-six other names were added in the next eleven years.

On the publication of the Papal Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, in November 1893, not a few Evangelicals in this country looked hopefully for some change in the unchanging Church of Rome; but in urging the study of the Scriptures—"ignorance of which is ignorance of Christ"[2]—it was not the principle of "the open Bible" which actuated the Holy Father. The Encyclical was not addressed to the laity; it confined the clergy to the Vulgate and the original languages; and it emphasised the resolve of his Holiness not to tolerate "these stores of Catholic revelation" being "troubled in any manner"—by heretics, or Bible Societies for instance.

Mr Alfred Eckenstein, who had spent fifty-two years at the Bible House, the last six as assistant to the Honorary

[1] At the first meeting in Exeter Hall, 1831.—Vol. i. p. 356.
[2] A dictum of St Jerome, which the Pope repeated and amplified.

Home Secretary, retired at the close of 1894, and was succeeded by one of the District-secretaries, the Rev. Harry Scott, whose name we shall see again in connection with the New Guinea versions.[1]

1894-95 was another year of great tours. Algeria and Tunis, Turkey, the Georgian and Armenian Churches in Asia Minor, even the far-away Auxiliaries at the Antipodes were visited, and the success of these missions no doubt contributed to the "sense of exhilaration in the air . . . the consciousness of progress, the hope of better things not far distant," which were noted at this time.[2] In the course of 1895, when Germany passed into the charge of Mr Michael Morrison, Russia (hitherto divided), Turkestan, and the Caucasus were thrown into one agency under Dr Nicolson, assisted by the Rev. W. Kean ; Siberia became an independent agency under Mr Davidson ; the three agencies of China were united under Mr Bondfield ; secretaries in direct communication with the Committee were appointed at Lahore, Calcutta, Bombay, and South Africa ; and the Australian Auxiliaries were so organised under local management that in 1897 the London Committee ceased for a time to be officially represented in those colonies.

After the devoted work of twenty-five years, thirteen and a half as District-secretary, eleven and a half as Secretary, the Rev. W. Major Paull resigned in the summer of 1896, and was enrolled among the Honorary Life Governors. His place was taken by the Rev. James Gordon Watt, M.A., a brilliant young Scotsman—he was but eight-and-twenty—whom Mr Paull had introduced to the Committee, and who had been Assistant Secretary since January 1894.[3]

[1] Mr Eckenstein, who became an honorary secretary of the Helpers' Association, died in December 1903.

[2] Then, too, the *Quarterly Review*, which had published long ago Southey's misleading and injurious attacks (vol. i. p. 361), had just appeared (Jan.-April 1895) with an admirable and sympathetic survey of the Society's work.

[3] Mr Major Paull took an active interest in the work until his death in February 1906, at the age of eighty-two.

At the age of fifty-six, on the 28th April 1897, a week before the annual meeting, the Rev. George Wilson, the Literary Superintendent, expired suddenly at the Bible House, in the presence of members of the Committee and the staff. There was no warning of the startling summons; the proofs of the Abstract of the year's Report were in his hands for revision; his last thoughts and words were of the progress and prospects of the Society. His gentle character, his scholarship, and the illuminating touch which made the Reports and the magazine such moving records of spiritual experience were long missed. The department was directed by the Rev. R. E. Welsh of the Presbyterian Church, Brondesbury,[1] until the appointment, in April 1898, of the Rev. T. H. Darlow, M.A., a gifted scholar of Cambridge and Leipzig and an accomplished man of letters.

The Rev. T. Aston Binns retired at midsummer 1897, and was inscribed a Vice-President in appreciation of his enthusiastic and honorary work as Home Secretary.[2] In May 1898 the Rev. H. B. Macartney, M.A., son of the late Dean of Melbourne, and himself an exemplary minister for thirty years in Victoria, was elected to the vacancy.

Mr Charles Finch, assistant foreign and financial secretary, whose large and varied experience during a quarter of a century was of great value in the House, died suddenly in October 1897.

It was the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign. Special popular editions of the Bible, the New Testament, the Four Gospels and Acts, and a Welsh Testament were published in commemoration of the event.[3] With the help of the Committee large distributions of the Bible took place in

[1] In 1905 Mr Welsh, who had laboured in the mission-field in Japan and South Africa, was appointed agent to the newly federated Bible Society of the Dominion of Canada.

[2] After his retirement he took an active part abroad on behalf of the Society until his sudden death at Geneva in June 1899.

[3] The fortnight preceding "the Queen's Day" letters and telegrams poured in for the 2d. Testaments in scores, hundreds and thousands. Of the Ruby Bible at 2s.

Sheffield and Birmingham, and "diamond jubilee" Testaments were granted to 5000 crippled children. Some 8000 Gospels in fourteen languages were provided for the crews of the foreign warships at the Naval Review, besides a supply for the native cavalry guard of honour, the suite of the special ambassador from China, and other visitors. At the annual meeting in May the great gathering at Exeter Hall acclaimed with no common emotion the resolution "heartily thanking Almighty God for the benign influence of her Majesty's prolonged reign, and the many ways in which it had facilitated the translation and diffusion of the Holy Scriptures; and devoutly praying Him to bless the Queen and her Empire, and to make His Word still more the means of extending the Saviour's sway over all the earth." Her Majesty, it was announced from the chair, had graciously accepted a copy of all the translations which had been made during her reign; and these were housed in the royal library at Windsor.

During those sixty years, not only had the income of the Society been doubled and its annual issues been multiplied sevenfold, but at least a portion of the Word of God had been translated into 200 strange tongues, some of them spoken in lands undiscovered or unexplored when her Majesty ascended the throne.[1]

Little indeed that happened of interest or concern to the Queen or her royal house failed to touch the loyal attachment of the Society. On the marriage of the Princess Louise in 1889, and on that of the Princess May in 1893, a Bible was presented and warmly acknowledged. When the Duke of Clarence died in 1892, and in 1896 on the death of

18,000 copies were sold; of the Diamond Bible at 1s. 6d., 13,500; and 180,000 English and 7000 Welsh Testaments at 2d.

[1] A masterly sketch of the *Expansion of the Society* during the period was prepared by Canon Edmonds. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Temple) and the Bishops attending the Lambeth Conference were presented with advance copies at a conversazione at the Bible House, and copies accompanied the versions sent to the Queen.

Prince Henry of Battenberg the Committee expressed their sympathy in addresses of condolence.

In March and April 1898, hearty congratulations were conveyed to the Religious Tract Society and the Church Missionary Society on their entering the last year of their first century, and to the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge on its beginning the first year of its third.

On the 25th April the Society lost its fifth Treasurer, the kindly and venerable Joseph Gurney Barclay, whose munificent contributions to the cause — beginning in 1841 with a gift of three guineas and amounting at last to £7667 —were crowned at his death with a legacy of £1000. His vacant place was worthily filled by his son, Mr Robert Barclay.

The May Meeting of 1898 proved to be the last at which Lord Harrowby presided, and many afterwards remembered how he spoke of the fleeting time and his increasing affection for the Society, of the attachment of early years growing, as the shadows began to lengthen, into a more perfect and exclusive reliance on the Sacred Book. He attended the new year meeting of the Committee in 1899, and was able to comply with the request that he should sit to Mr Herman Herkomer for his portrait; but in the following May his place in Exeter Hall was once more taken by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, G.C.M.G., who had lately returned from the governorship of South Australia, and all through the summer he remained far from strong.

It was in this summer that one of the radiant strong men of the Bible House was suddenly called away. For some time Dr William Wright had been burdened with sorrow and ailing in health, but he was at his post on Friday, 28th July, and had made an appointment for Monday, the 31st, to discuss some difficulty in a translation passing through the press. A sharp attack of illness on Sunday night kept him at home. His letters were sent out to him; he was unable to

open them; and after a few hours' suffering night brought the failing heart rest. So died, in his sixty-third year, one who had planned, guided, and aided more translations and revisions of the Holy Scriptures than any of his contemporaries. During his twenty-three years of office versions in 150 languages, apart from elaborate revisions of Indian, Chinese, and other texts, were added to the Society's catalogue; but his supreme editorial achievement was in inducing the Shanghai Missionary Conference in 1890 to provide for a "Union Version" of the Bible in five linguistic forms. Few were in closer touch with the scholars of the world; with all the gifts and charm of the Irishman of culture he brought to happy issues matters in which consummate tact was as indispensable as devout scholarship; and numberless letters and resolutions from societies, committees, and individuals bore witness to the affection and esteem with which he was regarded.[1]

In the closing days of January 1900 Lord Harrowby visited the Bible House—his interest unabated, but his mind much troubled by his irregular attendances. He had to be carried in a chair up to the Committee Room. It was his last meeting with the council of the Society. The end came on the 26th March, after nine days of prostration from bronchitis. His funeral at Sandon, which was distinguished by its solemn simplicity, was attended by the Bishop of Lichfield, one of the Vice-Presidents, Mr Wedekind, member of the Committee, and Mr Sharp, for whom he had a warm regard.

Sir Joseph Pease, M.P. (Vice-President), took the chair at the annual meeting, whence a message of heart-felt sympathy was conveyed to the Countess of Harrowby, and

[1] A tablet-portrait to his memory was erected in St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Norwood, of which he was for many years an elder. In the Library at the Bible House his name is picturesquely associated with a Hebrew Roll of the Law—a fine old MS. on sheepskins—which he brought from Syria and which his widow presented to the Society.

in the course of the proceedings a resolution was read from the Church Missionary Society expressing its deep sense of the Bible Society's loss.

On the 12th July the fifth Marquess of Northampton was welcomed at the Bible House by the Committee and a number of Vice-Presidents as the fifth President of the Society. Younger than any of his predecessors, he was still in the prime of manhood.[1] His name carried the mind back to the Battle of Spurs and the Field of the Cloth of Gold. His own field had been that of Sunday schools, ragged schools, social betterment; and his firm conviction was that for the misery of the poor as for the sin of the world the only true alleviation was in the Gospel.

Meanwhile, in September 1899 the vacant chair of the Editorial Superintendent was filled by the transfer of the brilliant young Secretary, Gordon Watt, whose recently published booklet, *Four Hundred Tongues*, showed his mastery of the large subject with which he was now to deal; and his place as Secretary was taken by the Rev. John Holland Ritson, M.A., who had held the Brackenbury Science Scholarship at Balliol, where he graduated with distinction, and after some time spent as assistant-tutor at Didsbury College, Manchester, was then stationed at Blackheath as minister of the Sunfields Wesleyan Church. Before the year closed, however, Mr Gordon Watt was stricken with a painful and insidious disease. The promise of a gifted life slowly faded during eight months of suffering borne with cheerful fortitude, and on 23rd July 1900 he passed away "in the peace of the Crucified" at Highgate in his thirty-second year. Canon Girdlestone came to the help of

[1] Born 1851; educated Eton and Cambridge; entered diplomatic service; private secretary (1880-82) to Earl Cowper, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (his brother-in-law); married the second daughter of Lord Ashburton (1884); M.P. for South-West Warwickshire (1885-86), and for Barnsley Division, Yorkshire, from 1889 to 1897, when he succeeded his father as fifth Marquess.

the Committee, and once more took up the duties which he had performed in 1866-76.

Earlier in the year the Rev. A. B. Evans, Assistant Secretary since between 1898, resigned through illness consequent on a serious accident, and in the summer the Committee appointed the Rev. Arthur Taylor, M.A.Oxon, at that time senior mathematical master at the Manchester Grammar School. In September the responsibilities of Editorial Superintendent devolved on the Rev. John Sharp, Secretary for over twenty years, and a few months later Mr Taylor and his old school-fellow Mr Ritson were associated as Secretaries. As the result of domestic sorrows Mr Macartney resigned his post as Home Superintendent, and was succeeded, at Easter 1901, by the Rev. Herbert A. Raynes, M.A., vicar of St Saviour's, Nottingham.

This was the last of the high official changes at the Bible House, but abroad, 1901 was marked by the unprecedented number in the foreign agencies. The last summons came to Mr Kirkpatrick at Brussels, to Mr Millard at Vienna; and the veteran agents in France, Portugal, Egypt, and Brazil all retired after periods of service ranging from twenty-one to thirty years. The Society approached the completion of its first hundred years with a younger generation ready to bear the lamps of its old traditions into a new century.

The Society shared in the world's mourning for the greatest Queen in history—greater in nothing than in this, that she lived and died a simple-hearted woman and a Bible-loving Christian. It was her grandfather, George III., who wished there might not be a cottage in the land without a Bible, nor a child that could not read it. Three years in succession her father, the Duke of Kent, appeared on the Society's platform. For sixty-three years she was herself patroness of the Windsor Auxiliary. In her reign upwards of 159,000,000 copies of Scripture were circulated. The whole Bible was translated into ten Asiatic, ten African, and

two North American Indian languages, and into four of the tongues of the South Seas, while the New Testament or some portion of Holy Scripture appeared in 212 other forms of speech.

An address of condolence and loyalty to King Edward VII. was graciously received by his Majesty; and in memory of the dead Queen a people's edition of the New Testament, containing a facsimile of the jubilee autograph, was published in royal purple inscribed in silver. Queen Alexandra became patroness of the Windsor Auxiliary. The King readily acceded to Lord Northampton's request that the Bible to be presented during the coronation ceremony should be the Society's gift; but precedent required that the volume should contain the Apocrypha, and the rules of the Society were too explicit to admit of compliance with this condition. His Majesty, however, accepted as a memento of his coronation a magnificently bound Bible, which was presented in the name of the Society on the 24th October by the Marquess of Northampton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Rev. Principal Fairbairn, Mr Caleb R. Kemp, Chairman of the Committee, and Mr Ritson, Secretary. Eight thousand Gospels and New Testaments were distributed on the foreign warships which attended the Naval Review; New Testaments in various tongues were given as souvenirs to the officers of the Indian contingent; and on the night of the Coronation the Bible House was brilliantly illuminated at the expense of the members of the Committee.

We now come to the second material alteration in the time-honoured constitution of the Society. After a special general meeting on the 9th October 1901, the first of the Laws was enlarged so as to include in its operations the Revised Version of the English Bible. Sixteen years had elapsed since the revision was published; so long in their scrupulous loyalty to the law of the Society having reference

to the Authorised Version, members of the Committee had waited for a verdict upon this combined result of modern scholarship. That the necessary change was at length adopted by an almost unanimous vote was largely due to the wise and sympathetic influence of the Bishop of Gloucester (Dr Ellicott), who, while he favoured the circulation of both versions, approved of the policy of cautious patience.[1]

Yet another note of loss—the death of the Marchioness of Northampton—brings to a close this section of our Home record. The hearts of all went out to the bereaved President and his young children ; the Secretaries attended the funeral at Castle Ashby ; and among the many tokens of regard and sympathy were two large wreaths sent by the Committee and the staff.

[1] Two letters deprecating the change, one from a Lady Life Governor, the other from an old member of an Auxiliary committee, were read. The only amendment, handed in by the secretary of the Dover Auxiliary, proposed to limit the innovation to an edition showing the Revisers' readings in the margin of the Authorised text. It was not seconded.

CHAPTER XLII

THE LAST HOME SURVEY (II.)

HAD evidence been needed, in these years, of the missionary character of the Society, of the dependence of missionary societies on its whole-hearted co-operation, of its influence in merging the differences and illuminating the common faith, the essential unity, of the Churches of Christ, it was writ large in the visits of kings, tribal chiefs, ambassadors from strange lands; in the testimony of apostles who had grown grey among "their people" on the edge of the Arctic Circle, in the swarming cities of the East, on the Coral Islands of the Pacific, along the great rivers and inland seas of Africa; in the presence on its platform of the high dignitaries and accredited leaders of every denomination. It was writ large, too, in the ever-increasing call of the missionary societies for new versions and bigger editions. In the latter years of the period the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel drew supplies in 60, the Church Missionary Society in 80 languages, the London Missionary Society and the Presbyterian Missions in 50, the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 40; and besides these in almost all non-Christian countries, there were foreign missions—American, French, Swedish, Dutch, and German—which the Society provided with every version they needed. No genuine application was ever refused, and the practice of furnishing the Scriptures on "missionary terms" — that is, the books were sent out

free with carriage paid, and the proceeds of sales were returned, less the expenses of circulation—practically relieved the missions of all charges.

As the period drew to a close, the tokens of an irresistible expansion were multiplied on all sides. During the last quinquennium £578,375 was expended on the production of the Scriptures; £643,727 in the maintenance of agencies, depôts, and the machinery of distribution. From 800 to 900 colporteurs circulated yearly between 1,250,000 and 2,000,000 copies. About 600 Biblewomen, under the direction of forty missionary societies, were at work in the secluded world of the zenanas. Some part of the Word of Life appeared in 28 new tongues, and each year the Editorial Committee considered questions relating to versions in about 150 languages. Yearly £10,000 was spent in grants of Scripture—gratis or at nominal price—to hospitals and prisons, to emigrants and seamen, to colleges, schools, homes, missions, and associations too numerous to mention.

Under the pressure of the time, the outlay once more exceeded the income. The six years of balances were followed by six years of deficits. In 1900 upwards of £9000 was generously subscribed to relieve the strain; but the country was already taxed with the burden of the South African war and the claims of patriotic and "twentieth-century" funds, and the Society closed its accounts for its first hundred years with a "reserve" depleted by an aggregate overdraft of £77,000.[1]

The financial system of the Society has already been so fully described that little need be added here. The total expenditure of the period amounted to £4,581,803; the total receipts to £4,586,969—leaving a balance of £5166. The free contributions from the Home Auxiliaries formed,

[1] In these twenty years there were but eight in which the annual income sufficed to meet the annual outlay, and leave a margin. In the other twelve the "shortage" was made good from earlier surpluses. In 1906-7, and then chiefly in virtue of retrenchment, the receipts once more exceeded the expenditure.

as we have seen, the basis of operations, but as we examine the accounts, we are struck once more by the unfailing providence which supplemented deficiencies from the most uncertain of all sources of income, namely, donations and legacies. Witness the following figures:—

1884-85—1903-4.

Proceeds from sales . .		£1,912,078	Expenditure .	£4,581,803
Free contributions from Home Auxiliaries . .	£1,088,721			
Auxiliaries abroad .	156,988			
		1,245,709		
Special funds, dividends, etc. .		321,205		
Donations (paid in London) . .	312,306			
Legacies (paid in London) . .	795,671			
		1,107,977	Balance . . .	5,166
		£4,586,969		£4,586,969

In nineteen instances the bequests ranged from £4000 to £10,000, in three from £11,000 to £15,000. Mr Richard Stratton of Bristol left £22,381 in 1884-85. We have already mentioned the £20,000 of the Rev. James Spurrell of Hove. From 1885 onward the Society benefited to the extent of £43,678 under the will of the Rev. Edward N. Pochin of Barkby, Leicester. Twice as much had been bequeathed, but the widow, two sons, and a daughter had been passed over by the testator, and the Committee, acting under legal advice and to the warm approval of their supporters, decided that their duty required them to relinquish half the estate for the benefit of the family. A similar spirit marked the disposal of a munificent gift by Sir James Tyler some years later. Through a flaw in the will the bequest was invalidated, and passed to the widow of his brother, the Rev. Dr William Tyler, who generously surrendered a large portion of the legacy—£6206—in fulfilment of the testator's wishes.

Among the donations of 1885 was a "Silent Offering" of £7749; and in the last year of the period "K.J.M.," a lady residing in London, transferred in the same silent devotion £10,000 of Indian 3 per cent. stock. Under a princely deed of trust, by which Mr George Sturge of Sydenham provided in 1883 for various religious and benevolent institutions, the Society received £22,000 up to 1901, and in the summer of that year £20,000 more was paid over. A cousin of Joseph Sturge, a well-known Birmingham philanthropist, and the last of three brothers all unmarried, Mr Sturge died in 1888 at the age of ninety. The family, which belonged to Gloucestershire, had been for generations staunch members of the Society of Friends. In 1901, in accordance with the wishes of Mr Samuel Cocker, a prominent Wesleyan of Sheffield, the Society was provided with £19,500 to be expended in the ensuing decade in the production and circulation of versions in new tongues.

A bare line of acknowledgment was for the most part the only record of the living and of the dead to whom the Society owed over a million of money in these twenty years; yet what a testimony was contained in those reticent lists of bequests and donations!

A word must be said of the struggle—it had ever been an incessant struggle — to maintain the efficiency of the Auxiliary Districts, then thirteen in number. In 1885 the Metropolis with its swarming millions was divided, and shortly became two great Metropolitan Districts — London north of the Thames, Middlesex, Bucks, Essex and Hertfordshire, and South London, Kent, and Surrey. More than once the English and Welsh counties were re-grouped to facilitate action. In 1897 the work required fourteen District-secretaries, with two assistants, and a coadjutor for "deputation" service (the Rev. Dr F. W. Bradney Dunne). A second deputation speaker (the Rev. Charles White of Tunbridge Wells), and a third assistant secretary,

were appointed in 1901 ; and two years later six assistants were necessary.

As early as 1886 the symptoms of a lowered vitality were discussed at a meeting of Auxiliary officers and other friends at the Bible House. In 1888 the free contributions had fallen between £7000 and £8000 below the figure of twenty years ago. What was at fault? Had some cold wave of estrangement chilled the people towards the Bible or the Bible Society? No answer could have been clearer than that which came from the great gathering in the Potteries which welcomed Lord Harrowby in the spring of 1889, when three or four thousand people, nearly all artisans and mostly young men, crowded the large hall at Hanley, and listened in hushed attention for nearly three hours to the record of the Society's work. Many causes contributed to this disquieting financial decline—the social changes of a fresh generation, the activity of the Churches, the claims of local interests, the competition of numerous benevolent and religious institutions; but probably none were more insidious than the failure, on the one hand, to perceive that a knowledge of the Society had not kept pace with the rapid growth of population, and the impression, on the other, that the Society was immensely rich, and so well established that its position was secure.

It was now felt that more men and new methods, or at least a greater flexibility of method, were needed to meet the spirit of the age. A dread of prejudicing the catholic character of the Society had hitherto prevented the "congregation" (through which all Christian families might be reached) from being accepted as the unit of organisation, instead of the old "district" (too often divided by sectarian differences). In the stress of difficulties it was recognised that the annual meetings of the Auxiliaries would safeguard the principle of catholicity, and that it was ill-advised to veto work on congregational lines when these were the result of local conditions. On the initiative of Mr Aston Binns of the new

Home Department a series of conferences were held in all the large towns throughout the country,[1] to realise a scheme for the appointment of Honorary County-secretaries, with connectional or county committees which should link up the Auxiliaries in the sections of each of the great districts. Five able men entered on this work in 1888, and gradually the number increased to thirty-nine (including two ladies) for twenty-three counties.

More systematic efforts were made to secure the co-operation of the clergy of all the Churches, and to obtain at least one Sunday in the year for sermons and offertories on behalf of the Society.[2] A fresh impulse was given to the visitation of schools and the formation of Juvenile Associations; arrangements were made for the localisation of the Society's magazines and the wider distribution of its pamphlets; and a greater use was made of popular attractions—lantern lectures, garden and drawing-room meetings, and sales of work.[3] With a view to reducing the expenses of Auxiliaries and the amount of capital dormant in unsold stock, proposals were made for the extension of trade depôts in all parts of the country.

In November 1889 the Helpers' Association was formed by the Rev. David Brodie, District-secretary for North London. It began with seven members. In 1895, when Mr Eckenstein became honorary secretary in succession to Mr Habershon of Edenbridge (the *doyen* of the County-secretaries), there were 140 members, and branches were

[1] Among them Leeds, where over £6000 was raised for missions, and no more than £223 for the Society which missions found indispensable.

[2] Some sixty special sermons were preached at Liverpool on the Sunday before the notable annual meeting of 1896. At Norwich, where the number increased to about eighty, "Bible Sunday" became "a common Christian festival." Yet incredible as it may seem, for every pulpit in which the cause of the Society was advocated in the latter years of the period, in forty there was no word of recognition. "Each year," wrote the Rev. F. D. Thomson, Yorkshire District-secretary, "sees the increase in the number of ministers of the Gospel who give no support or countenance to this Bible Society, and who do not even bid us God-speed."

[3] A ladies' school in the South Metropolitan District realised £100 by one of these sales of work.

at work at Norwich, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bedford and Tunbridge Wells. The president, Mr W. H. Harris was succeeded by Mr G. A. King, another member of the Committee, in 1898, and in 1900 there were 152 members. The goodly fellowship, long known as Voluntary Helpers—bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, clergy of all denominations, and many laymen of the Committee—gave in increasing numbers their invaluable aid in the Auxiliary field. One hundred and five in 1884, 300 in 1900, they were nearly 450 strong in the Centenary year.

A new departure was taken in 1900 when, as an evening counterpart in autumn to the morning anniversary in May, a great popular meeting was held in St James's Hall on the 15th November. The Marquess of Northampton made his first appearance as President of the Society, Mr Sankey sang several revival hymns, and the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr Temple), who "had helped the Bible Society in his own way ever since he was twelve years old," and who had befriended it as Bishop of Exeter and Bishop of London, now spoke of it as "one of the most valuable instruments for doing the work which God had given to be done."

Such was the last phase in the development of the Home system.

With the help so willingly given the District-secretaries accomplished wonders. The annual meetings throughout the country increased from some 3000 to 5800; the sermons for the Society—712 in 1888—numbered 5859 in 1902. In the fourteen years ending 1897-98 50,712 meetings were held and 11,540 sermons were preached. At the end of the period there were 5736 Auxiliaries, Branches, and Associations, as against 5134 at the beginning. But this net result tells nothing of the expenditure of energy by which it was secured. In these same fourteen years 1834 institutions perished, and 2421 new ones were founded. Figures are wanting for the interval between 1898 and 1902; but even

in the last three years of the period 500 Auxiliaries, etc., were struck off the list, 574 others were entered, and 13,566 meetings and 6915 sermons were recorded, apart from special Centenary work.

Of the thirteen District-secretaries who passed over from the preceding period, Mr G. T. Edwards, the senior of the little band, was privileged to complete forty-four years' service. Somewhat failing in health and strength, he made way for younger men, and was enrolled among the Honorary Life Governors in 1896. A unique figure in these pages! He knew Mr Brandram, the successor of the Rev. John Owen; was for over a decade a colleague of Charles Stokes Dudley, the first District-secretary; was present at the Jubilee celebration in the very room in which the Society was founded; saw the Prince of Wales lay the foundation-stone of the Bible House in Queen Victoria Street; gathered as an offertory in Rome some of the last coins of the Papal mint in the last year of the "temporal power." Among the many eminent men with whom he came in contact, Ruskin published in *Fors* a protest Edwards wrote at his request against the dismantling of Little Sodbury Manor, the only house in England in which Tindale was known to have lived; and Cardinal Newman accepted as a birthday gift a large type New Testament in four volumes, not too heavy for his extreme old age. But of his innumerable recollections few were more delightful than this: While Rector of Hodnet in Shropshire, Heber invited the Congregational minister to join him in founding an Auxiliary. His call to the Bishopric of Calcutta came before his intention could be carried out. Thirty-five years passed away, and in 1858 Edwards formed an Auxiliary at Hodnet. Mr Macaulay, a nephew of the historian, was rector, and Heber's Congregational minister, Mr Davies (Nunc dimittis!) took part in the meeting. In 1891 the Auxiliary was still flourishing; the spirit of the parish was the catholic spirit of the Bible

Society ; and the rector, a nephew of Bishop Heber, reported that during a recent "mission" the Nonconformists assisted at the services in the various hamlets, and when the parish church was restored, collections for the fund were made in all the Nonconformist chapels.[1]

On the 1st August 1901 Mr Edwards passed peacefully to his rest at the little town of Thusis in Switzerland.

The Rev. Henry Griffiths, the esteemed District-secretary for South Wales from 1874, was stricken down by paralysis of the brain while away from home, and after three days' suffering died peacefully on the 16th March 1886. For fifteen months his senior, Dr W. Dickens Lewis, had charge of the whole Principality, and in July 1887 the South Wales vacancy was filled by the appointment of the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones, D.D., of Whitchurch, Cardiff, who was still at his post at the Centenary.[2] Dickens Lewis himself lived to complete six-and-twenty years of brilliant service. He returned in April 1894 from a deputation tour to Italy with a severe cold, which developed into a fatal illness, and on the 14th November 1895 another of the great bilingual Biblemen of the Principality was lost to the Society. In recognition of his life's work, his widow — a granddaughter of Charles of Bala — was elected a Lady Life Governor. A great-grandson of Charles, the Rev. David Charles Edwards, who was appointed as assistant during his last illness, brings the story of North Wales down to the present day.

The work in the Principality was beset with troubles of its own. The bilingual difficulty threatened to burden the Society with duplicate meetings and Auxiliaries. Tithes,

[1] In the last three years of the period Hodnet, with its population of 1731, sent up in free contributions £70, a yearly average of 3¼d. a head.

[2] Dickens Lewis received the degree of D.D. from Princetown University, on his visit to the Welsh colonies in the States in 1885. In 1901 Dr Cynddylan Jones was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church.

education, ecclesiastical endowments occasioned such rancorous and estranging controversies that infinite tact was required to secure the co-operation of Churchmen and Nonconformists. In the southern counties the population was increased and the rate of free contributions was lowered by the large influx of "foreigners." But the Welsh people never swerved from their high Celtic veneration for the Holy Scriptures or their attachment to the Bible Society. Outside Offa's Dyke Wales had its Bible colonies, its "Cambrian Auxiliaries" in various English towns. Even in Patagonia the Welsh settlers remembered the rock from which they were hewn.

In 1892 was unveiled at St Asaph a memorial of Bishop Morgan, who first gave his countrymen the whole Bible in their native tongue. In 1894 died the Rev. W. Rowlands, Vicar of Fishguard, who, with a single break, caused by sickness, travelled for forty years from his far home on the Pembroke coast to be present at the anniversary in Exeter Hall. At the Eisteddfod in July, 1898, the theme of the Ode which won the Silver Crown and a prize of £20 was "Charles of Bala." The Bible, the Bible Society, Bala—that was Wales!

The Bible! All sections of the Church in the Principality united in 1888 in a petition to the Committee for a cheap English-Welsh Testament for Sunday and day schools. It was issued at a cost of £250. But the people were not to be outdone in goodwill. In the following year the free contributions from South Wales alone showed an increase of £288. Right through to the close it was no uncommon thing for three and even four generations to attend the same Sunday-school together.

Bala! Let some Bard of the Silver Crown gather the scattered pearls of its Bible legend. Among the children Mr Charles baptized was a little girl, Ann, who remembered him well. For sixty-one years she subscribed to the Society. After her death her son, David Williams, continued the sub-

scription in her name for twenty-one years more. David died in Liverpool in 1896, and the Cambrian Branch, of which he was a member, sent up for that year its own free contribution of £350, and a legacy of £1000, which this son of sons left "in loving memory of his mother, Ann." One of Charles's granddaughters, as we have seen, married Dr Dickens Lewis. Another was the wife of Dr Lewis Edwards, for nearly fifty years Principal of Bala College, and a Vice-President from 1882. He died in 1887. His son, Thomas Charles Edwards, the first Principal of University College, Aberystwith, afterwards Principal of Bala, and a Vice-President for eight years, was the elder brother of the District-secretary, David Charles Edwards. When we come to speak of the children, we shall meet with other reminders of "the Apostle of North Wales."

The Bible Society! Habits changed, and in later years people seldom came from eight to ten miles round to a Bible meeting. The pressure of life was harder. But instead, District-secretary and deputation went out to the small hamlets on the moors and among the hills, and were sure of a warm welcome and a hearty audience. Still, too, as of old, the devoted collectors went from house to house throughout the wild country in the short and stormy days of winter. And once a Bibleman, always a Bibleman. In the Centenary year the Rev. Edward Williams was still at his post at the age of ninety-four. In 1897 he had been enrolled among the Life Governors; in 1898 he had been presented with a Bible as a memorial of fifty years' service as president of the Cynwyd Auxiliary, Merionethshire.

During the twenty years Wales sent up to the Bible House £121,623 in free contributions—an average throughout the period of something over ¾d. for every man, woman and child. Anglesea, notwithstanding its labour troubles and waning population, remitted more than 2¾d., and Merionethshire raised over 3d. per head. In 1901-1902, when the free contributions from the whole country reached

the highest point — £59,478, the amount received from populous and wealthy England worked out at less than ½d. per head.[1]

In 1888 the Rev. George Davidson, District-secretary for Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, left England as agent for Victoria, South and Western Australia, and his district was divided among three of his colleagues. After fifteen years' service the Rev. Isaac Raine retired from the East Midland District in 1891, and was succeeded by the Rev. Elias George,[2] whose place as North Metropolitan assistant was taken by the Rev. Harry Scott, for some time a missionary of the London Missionary Society in New Guinea. In 1891 also the Rev. Robert Black, who had been District-secretary for fourteen years, accepted a living, and the Rev. W. H. Norman, M.A., senior curate of Huddersfield, was appointed to the Cambridge district.

The name of the University county awakens a long train of associations. In December 1889 the Society lost one of its most illustrious Vice-Presidents in the great Bible scholar and Churchman, Lightfoot. Less than a year before his death, he sent from his sick-room at Bournemouth a cheery message to the conference at Sunderland: "I am sorry not to be with you, because I believe that by virtue of its dissemination of the Bible in so many languages, the British and Foreign Bible Society renders such assistance to the missionary cause that for that reason, if for no other, it deserves the support of all Churchmen, whatever their views may be." Westcott, his successor in the see of Durham, had been a Vice-President since 1883, and left his place as president of the University Branch to be filled in turn by such shining men as Hort, and Lumby, and Moule, who was to take up the Bishop's staff when it fell from his hand. And these

[1] Under the Auxiliary depôt system £25,400 was received from Wales on purchase account during the ten years to March 1894.

[2] Mr George became pastor of the Baptist Church at Yeovil in 1902, but returned to his old field two years later.

names recall others—Creighton, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough and of London, Sir Thomas Wade, Sir George Stokes, Macalister, Butler of Trinity.

In 1892 the Rev. David Brodie withdrew to the cure of Congleton, and was succeeded by the Rev. E. H. Pearce, M.A., a nephew of Canon Edmonds. For three years Brodie had coped single-handed with the millions of London; for eight more he and the Rev. James Thomas divided the labour of the home counties. The success of the latter, south of the Thames, was a triumph of organisation. The free contributions from Kent and Surrey, which amounted to £4593 when he took charge, were worked up in 1898 to £7471, "the largest sum contributed by any district in any year of the Society's history." Brodie had been struck by the lack of systematic effort among the young; the bright new race who were to fill the ranks of the veterans passing away appealed strongly to Thomas. Within a few years hundreds of schools were leagued together.[1] Not long before his death Mr C. E. B. Reed arranged for a gathering of the young people at the Bible House, and that happy experiment led to a yearly meeting of the juvenile collectors in the Metropolitan area. The treasures of the house were displayed, interesting addresses were delivered, and a birthday cake, weighing as many pounds as the Society had numbered years, was divided at the close of the party.

The Bible House became too small for the host of boys and girls, and on Saturday afternoon, 7th March 1891—thanks to the Society's good friends, the Lord Mayor[2] and

[1] The appeal to the young was, as we have seen, no new idea; but the work had its special difficulties. In Southport, which formerly reminded one of the "city full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof," many schools changed hands, and the old connection ceased. But Belle Vue House School Association, Herne Bay, which held its twenty-fifth annual meeting in 1901, and had sent up £255 in ten years; "St Clair," Tunbridge Wells, which raised nearly £200 between 1883 and 1890, and sent over £80 in 1901; Westholm School, Bishop Auckland, which completed its quarter-century in 1902 and had subscribed £242, were examples of how much might be achieved by the service of the young.

[2] Sir Joseph Savory, Vice-President in 1892.

the Common Council of London — the 87th birthday was celebrated in the Guildhall, that historic building whose annals date from the reign of Henry IV. Here for five centuries the sovereigns of England had been feasted, parliaments had assembled, famous men had been honoured, but never before had there been a spectacle more beautiful or significant than that of these Bible children. The mythical Giants, Magog with battle-axe and shield, Gog with his spiked "morning star," kept ward in the gallery, and through the great stained-glass windows the light struck on the gilded tablets commemorating the trial of Lady Jane Grey and that of Jane Askew, who gave her inquisitors the famous answer: "I have heard that God made man; but that man made God I have never heard." Two thousand children sat down to tea at some of these gatherings, and the example was not lost upon the country.[1]

In 1893 the Rev. R. G. Hunt, who had been District-

[1] The "Birthday Cake" was cut by the following children.

1891. The youngest collector (four and a half years), James W. Brodie, nephew of the Metropolitan District-secretary.

1892. Cut in the absence of the youngest girl collector by the chairman, Mr George Williams, afterwards Sir George Williams, the organiser of the Y.M.C.A., and a Vice-President of the Society.

1893. Alicia M. Lewis, daughter of the North Wales secretary, Mr Dickens Lewis, great-great-granddaughter of Charles of Bala.

1894. Hilary Muriel Hunt, great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Scott, the Commentator, and daughter of the Rev. R. G. Hunt, for thirteen years District-secretary.

1895. Ernest Charles Jones, great-great-grandson of Charles of Bala.

1896. The daughter of Sir Walter H. Wilkin, Lord Mayor of London.

1897. The daughter of Mr W. E. Gillett of Streatham.

1898. Irene, daughter of Mr George Spicer, member of the Committee and afterwards Vice-President.

1899. Evaline, daughter of Mr David Charles Edwards (successor of Mr Dickens Lewis), great-great-granddaughter of Charles of Bala.

1900. Editha, daughter of Mr Peter F. Wood of Chislehurst, member of the Committee and afterwards Vice-President. On the suggestion of the Lord Mayor, Sir A. J. Newton, a telegram of "most loving and loyal greetings" was sent to Queen Victoria and was at once acknowledged; and congratulations were received from Birmingham where a "Birthday" meeting of two or three thousand children had been held the day before.

1901. Christina, daughter of Mr Robert Barclay, the Treasurer. This year the "icing" on the cake took the form of a shield, bearing the late Queen's Diamond Jubilee text.

1902. Florence Mary Goldsmith, granddaughter of Mr C. G. Master, C.S.I., member of the Committee.

1903. Ida, daughter of Sir Marcus Samuels, Lord Mayor of London.

secretary for thirteen years, accepted the vicarage of St Matthew's, Canonbury, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Fisher, M.A., of Farnley, near Leeds; and about the same time the Rev. W. Monk Jones, for several years a London missionary in South India, took the place of the Rev. Harry Scott, transferred to the Home Department.

The death of Dickens Lewis and the retirement of G. T. Edwards, who was scarcely less busy than of old, left the Rev. Richard Perkins *doyen* of the District-secretaries. His report for 1896 records one of the last appearances of George Müller, founder of the great Orphanages on Ashley Downs, near Bristol. Although in his ninety-second year, the aged philanthropist willingly assisted him at "a delightful meeting" at Keynsham. Early in March 1898 Müller closed his long and wonderful life of faith in the infinite possibilities of prayer. He had read the Bible through "considerably over a hundred times," and had circulated 1,985,164 copies of Scriptures in all parts of the world and in various languages. His connection with the Society had lasted so long that no one could recall the beginning of it.[1] In July 1898 Mr Perkins was congratulated by the Committee on the completion of a quarter of a century of service. When he withdrew three years later to less arduous labour in the rural living of Stock St Milburgh, Shropshire, he had travelled 343,000 miles and delivered nearly 6000 sermons, lectures, and addresses.

The Rev. Francis D. Thompson was now senior District-secretary, and Mr Thomas and the Rev. Jelinger E. Symons of the Eastern South District were the only colleagues left who had worked in the fourth period. All three remained to the close of this history. In the autumn of 1901 Mr Thompson had been five-and-twenty years in charge of Yorkshire, which covers more acres than there are letters in

[1] Nearly a million and a half of money (£1,424,626) was placed in his hands "in answer to prayer."

the Bible. In the first five years of this period the annual average of free contributions from the largest English county was £4,280; in the last five it was £6,289. In the interval the population had increased by considerably over a million, but the rate per head was nearly identical—something more than a farthing and a half.

A rearrangement of districts followed the appointment of Mr Major Paull as Secretary; Mr G. T. Edwards was transferred from his long-loved northern counties, and his place was taken in May 1885 by the Rev. E. S. Prout.[1] After nearly thirteen years of devoted and successful work he in turn was transferred, and the Northern District was put in charge of his assistant, the Rev. W. G. Jones, B.A., in 1898. Meanwhile the Auxiliary on the Tyne flourished with a vigour that would have rejoiced the old monk of Jarrow. Henry Richardson, who had been seven years on the roll of Life Governors, died in 1885, beloved and regretted. In August 1888 the Auxiliary lost another of its worthies, Ephraim Lister, who first worked for the cause under Mr Page in Yorkshire in 1882, and became twelve years later a local agent among the village Asssciations in the colliery and mining districts of the Tyne country. The wife of Henry Richardson, honorary secretary of the Ladies' Branch, died 26th March 1892. Within eight days passed away the historian of the Roman Wall, Dr J. Collingwood Bruce, secretary of the Auxiliary and a Life Governor of the Society. Both had reached the age of eighty-six, and both had taken office in the same remote year, 1834. Thomas Pumphrey, grandson of George and nephew of Henry Richardson, was appointed honorary secretary in 1892. Seven years later he was inscribed among the Life Governors, and was raised to

[1] Mr Prout's family associations were of the most auspicious. He was the son of the Rev. Ebenezer Prout, for about twenty years a secretary of the London Missionary Society. The uncle after whom he was named was Edward Stallybrass, one of the translators of the Buriat version; and he was baptized by John Williams, the martyr of Erromanga, whose memoir his father wrote.

the rank of Vice-President in 1904. In May 1902—two years after the removal of the Manchester Auxiliary to new premises in Deansgate—the Newcastle Auxiliary took possession of its more spacious Bible House, still in Pilgrim Street, the old way to the Healing Well at Jesmond (Jesus' Mount.) During the twenty years the free contributions from the Newcastle Auxiliary amounted to £18,600. The total from 1821 was £42,783; and previous to 1821 £4748 had been remitted to London chiefly on purchase account. The aggregate circulation up to 1901 was 732,675 copies of Scriptures.

From 1884 to 1904 there were in all twenty-seven District-secretaries and sixteen assistants. Of these last six were appointed to the charge of districts. One, the Rev. H. Starmer of Norwich, had been nineteen years in the service at the close of the Centenary.[1]

During the period the free contributions from the Auxiliaries exceeded those of the preceding twenty years by £50,000. The expenditure of the Society, however, had increased by £566,000.

The temper of a keener and more bustling time did not put an end to the picturesque anniversaries of former years, or the pretty devices for assisting the Society. There were still "Bible" bees, fruit-trees, flower-plots, "Society" cows, hens, dogs, corners of fields, carol singers. For many a "Bible Day" the church bells rang, and the azaleas bore fruit of gold at Witchampton. On the 23rd July 1896, a little month after his ninety-seventh birthday, the Rev. Carr John Glyn was present for the last time. On the 25th October his saintly spirit had passed in its undying youth.[2] But the golden trees did not cease bearing; in

[1] *See* List of District-secretaries in the Appendix, vol. v.

[2] He had been an Honorary Life Governor from 1837, a Vice-President from 1886. His last sermon was preached on behalf of the Society at St John's, Wimborne, which he had built at his own expense. Only two days before his death he wrote to the Bible House respecting a Bible meeting at Wimborne. Ever ready to help at home, he constantly spent his summer holidays in genial and helpful visits to the colporteurs

1903 £21 was gathered from their branches. From the formation of the Auxiliary in 1833 the little village of Witchampton raised £4974.

The Rose Meetings at Manningford Bruce were continued until, in forty years, they had realised £3000 for the Society. Then the meeting-place was changed to the rectory at Manningford Abbas. There, for the last time, in 1900, Mr Stratton, the founder of the Association, wheeled round in his chair, took part in celebrating Bible Day. On the 22nd May 1902, at the age of seventy-eight, he was released from infirmity and pain.

The same delightful tradition prevailed at Letcombe Regis (between King Alfred's birthplace and the rolling downs which shut in the Vale of the White Horse), where the meetings began in the late seventies, and many a foreign agent and noted missionary told the tale of the Society's work in distant lands;[1] and at High Down, near Hitchin, the residence of Mr Joseph Pollard, another member of the Committee. There, year after year, from 1866 onward, Bible Day was celebrated in the spacious barn, or under the summer trees round the noble house which Sir Thomas Dowcra, Prior of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, built for himself in the days of Henry VII.[2]

In all parts of the country Auxiliary gatherings such as these were the meeting-ground for ministers and missionaries of every Church and the laity of all classes and opinions. The spirit which animated them was a steadfast reverence and attachment for the Word of God. Indeed, the picture of the religious life of the English people, as shown in the

in Belgium, France, Spain, and elsewhere. No one did more to promote the Benevolent Fund for the benefit of worn-out servants of the Society and their families. His local work passed into the hands of his son, Captain Glyn, County-secretary for East Dorset.

[1] Mr S. W. Silver of Letcombe Regis was one of the Society's principal trustees, and a skilled financial adviser. He served on the Committee for twenty-five years, and in 1900 was made a Vice-President. He died, aged seventy-five, in 1905.

[2] Mr Pollard joined the Committee in 1890, and was one of the first County-secretaries. His daughter, Catherine (Lady Robertson Nicoll), a frequent contributor to the pages of *Gleanings*, was made a Lady Life Governor in 1896.

Society's reports for one hundred years, might be made one of the most beautiful and surprising things in literature.

Not to be overlooked are those silent workers, the Society's publications. A new series of *The Reporter*, on an ampler page, illustrated throughout, and showing on the cover a copy of Hamo Thornycroft's fine statue "The Sower," began under Mr Wilson's editorship in January 1889. The monthly numbers were enlarged in 1894 from sixteen to twenty pages, and in 1899 to twenty-four, under Mr Darlow. Among many stirring accounts of colportage and version work in all parts of the world appeared Mr Henry Morris's sketches of the *Founders and First Three Presidents*, and of the *Memorable Room* in which the Society was projected. These were afterwards published in separate form. A copy of *Gleanings for the Young*, given to a child, led to the gathering of a children's working party, and then to the formation of the Harlesden Auxiliary in April 1891. In 1899 this bright little magazine was issued on a larger page, and in smaller type. The number of small people who took part in the "Search Text Competition," inaugurated by Mr Wilson, increased in that year to 1768, and over 240 were awarded prize Bibles.

A "popular edition" of the Annual Report in 1889 prepared the way for such admirable illustrated monographs of the year's progress as "Behold, a Sower," "The Conquests of the Bible," and "After a Hundred Years."

Of the many booklets and pamphlets issued from the Bible House, *Four Hundred Tongues*, by J. Gordon Watt, and *In our Tongues*, by George Anthony King, a member of the Committee, dealt with the progress of translations. *The Gospel in many Tongues* originated in an advertisement catalogue, containing Acts ii. 8 in a variety of languages, which showed the range of type in the printing office of W. M. Watts, Crown Court. About 1855 the Society was permitted to adopt the idea, as illustrating the Scriptures it provided for many lands. The edition of 1863 contained

the verse in 91 languages and some 30 varieties of characters. Gradually the text was superseded by John iii. 16—"For God so loved the world"; and in the edition of 1893, which gave specimens in 284 distinct tongues, the verse from St John appeared in 237. So rapid was the progress in translation that in the Centenary edition, showing 358 varieties of speech, God's love for the world was the message in 317.

Here we may fitly add some brief notes of co-operating agencies. The London Bible and Domestic Female Mission was always privileged to own the same Presidents as the Bible Society, to which it may be described as affiliated. From the beginning in 1867 down to 1903-1904, when 88 women were employed, the institution distributed 325,697 copies of Scripture, for which the London poor paid, largely in pennies, £34,842; and during the seven-and-thirty years the Society contributed £29,818 towards its support.

The systematic employment of native Christian Bible-women among Oriental peoples, on which the Committee ventured in 1884, proved successful beyond question. In 1889-90 the Society provided £2363 in support of 340 women, who, under the supervision of 27 organisations, circulated 10,929 copies, read on an average to 17,881 of their own sex each week, and taught 1331 to read in the course of the year. In 1903-4, at a total cost of nearly £6000, 680 women, connected with some 40 organisations, were subsidised in the near and far East,[1] and the Society maintained more or less completely 100 more in London and countries other than Oriental.

In the latter part of the period the Society spent about £10,000 a year in direct grants of Scriptures, free or at greatly reduced rates, to schools, colleges, asylums for the

[1] In the East over 40,000 women were read to weekly, and some 2400 were taught to read in that year; and the Biblewomen visited not only zenanas, but dispensaries, hospitals, and prisons.

blind, religious and benevolent associations of nearly every Christian communion; and the colportage work of such bodies as the Missions to Seamen, the Seamen's Christian Friend Society, was aided by substantial money votes. As in the past, no public event was overlooked that could be used to place the Word of Life in the homes of the people.

Once more we turn to that unbroken succession of devout and gifted men whose names are inscribed "on the diptychs" of the Bible House. In the course of the twenty years 90 new members joined the Committee. Six became Vice-Presidents. Of the 36 who were in office in 1903-4 Mr I. P. Werner was first appointed in 1884, Dr Theodore Duka in 1885, and 8 others had served from ten to fifteen years. One hundred and eighty-five Vice-Presidents accepted office. In the last year of the period the venerable Bishop of Gloucester (Dr Ellicott), whose name had stood in the Reports from 1864, headed a roll of 152 Vice-Presidents. Of 197 new Honorary Life Governors 8 became Vice-Presidents, and 128 were still on the list in 1903-1904.[1]

With unfaltering loyalty the Hibernian Society maintained its position as an independent Auxiliary. During the twenty years—so many of them harassed by lawlessness, political agitation, and trade depression — it distributed 1,031,687 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions, raising its total circulation from 1806 to 5,615,832 copies. Its contributions to the world-wide work of the Parent Society amounted to £5100, and this was supplemented by £650 from the Belfast and £100 from the Cork Society.

The most cordial and helpful relations were fostered between the Committee and the Scottish and American Bible Societies. The Bible Society of Scotland more than doubled, in the period, its circulation of 1861-1884, and reached an

[1] From 1884 onwards the Vice-Presidents included 2 Archbishops of Canterbury, 2 Archbishops of York, 39 Bishops of British and 17 of colonial sees, 1 Marquess, 5 Earls (one an ex-Viceroy of India), 3 Viscounts, 9 Barons, and 2 Lord Chief Justices. —*See* Lists of Committee, Vice-Presidents, etc. in the Appendix, vol. v.

aggregate, at home and abroad, of 22,988,571 copies; the American Bible Society, which completed its fourth house-to-house visitation throughout the United States in 1889, and had established eleven foreign agencies up to 1895, distributed some 30,500,000. This brought its circulation from 1816 up to 74,441,674.

Let us pass to that second field for which the Society was founded—"the World."

CHAPTER XLIII

THE CEDED KINGDOMS

We now group together the countries in which, after years of costly and laborious exertion, the Society was permitted to resign its charge to native piety, and withdraw in obedience to more urgent calls. The transfer in Sweden was already drawing to a happy completion. In Holland the change required time, patience, and the tact of a winning personality. At the close of 1884 indeed, what with an intolerant legislature, theological strife, widespread mercantile depression, royal funerals which caused anxiety and foreboding, the outlook was not hopeful. The rise in circulation to nearly 40,000 copies was in itself a veto on withdrawal. And it was impossible to shut one's eyes to the distrust with which so many regarded the versions of the Netherlands Society. "Yes," said a labourer, after he had made sure he "had come to the right place"; "yes, that is the right Bible. First I looked to see whether the Bible was the British and Foreign Bible Society's; then I found out whether the word *Jehovah* is printed *Heere*. The Bibles of the Netherlands Bible Society have only *Heer*. You, sir, are a *Heer*; when I go home and put on my Sunday clothes, then I too look like a Heer; but Jehovah," and his face grew earnest as he spoke, "Jehovah who created heaven and earth, you and me, is not *Heer*, but *Heere*, and no human being has a right to change that in our Bible."

A year later, however, the agency, restricting its operations, worked only through sub-depôts and the booksellers,

and colportage ceased. The new men had gone—one to labour as an evangelist. De Geus, crippled with rheumatism, managed the sub-depôt at Leyden University. Ornée thankfully sold from his house at Groningen,—a frail old man of seventy-one, with forty years of service completed in 1886. Friends brought him a token of affection to mark that honourable event, and recalled stories of the days when he was "quick as a lamplighter":—How the sea-captain hailed him as he passed, "What are you selling?" "Picture-books," said Orneé. "Let me see," said the captain; then, having fanned-out the pages, "Never a picture here," said he. "You don't look properly," replied Ornée; "the words are the pictures. In this book man is portrayed just as he is, not only his outward appearance but also his interior, and God Himself is the artist." Then his meeting with the sailor: "What are you selling?" "Compasses and charts; so correct, you can't get wrong; every shoal and rock marked plain; even the ports you're bound for put in." "Let me see;" then looking through the book, and standing silent for a spell, "Right!" said the sailor, and bought a Bible.

Busy enough was Grelinger at that time — persuading his countrymen that they had their obligations no less than their privileges, and that the distribution of the Scriptures in Holland was not an English monopoly; urging the Churches to unity of action — with such effect that one small Auxiliary, at Charlois, opposite Rotterdam, did get its mill-sails turning; addressing town and country meetings (De Geus helping in the lulls of his rheumatism) in support of the Society's financial claims; diverting business as much as possible to the offices of the Netherlands Society, whose committee earnestly appealed to the country for means to undertake the work which national honour imposed upon them.

Then came fresh troubles to embarrass and perplex an eager and tactful Grelinger—fiery disruption, at last, between

faith and infidelity in our Dutch Reformed Church; "first in a few country places, then in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other localities;" ministers, elders, deacons (men of piety and scientific reputation) standing firm for the "Church Confession," refusing to obey the Synod any longer, deposed accordingly by the Synod, and the church doors locked and barred against them. These were the devout men, whose congregations were upholders of the "Bible" schools at an outlay of £120,000 a year. The support of deposed pastors and the expense of new places of worship were now to be a heavy additional burden. Surely the Society would not abandon them in such a crisis? "By no means, in such a crisis," agreed the Committee.

For all this the Netherlands Society quickened into wonderful activity. At the beginning of 1888, though the agency circulation had yet fallen but a trifle below 32,000 (a new Testament at 2d. counting for something in that figure; a "tiny beautiful book," bought up by "Jews and Romanists, rich and poor"—8500 in four months), the Netherlands had risen to an unprecedented 66,000; chiefly through Grelinger's skilful contrivances, it seems. Early in the following year Dr F. J. Wood and Mr Major Paull, the Secretary, went over to Holland on behalf of the Committee. Such a reception!—warm-hearted friends from the Dutch congregations gathering round them; prayerful brotherly discussion; then a resolution, "The withdrawal would be a severe blow to several churches and many Christians;" finally, a decision, wholly unexpected by agent and deputation, to found a Dutch Auxiliary which should forestall the detriment like to come of the Society's departure.

How often God is better to us than our fears! In 1891 the Netherlands Society attained a circulation of 77,000—its organisation all alert and responsive. Prices had been lowered; new editions were passing through the press; colporteurs were at work; over 100 depôts localised its

influence throughout the country. Thereto, the restoration of the revised text reinspired confidence. Open the book, and you will find no more *Heers*, "like us in our Sunday clothes," but the everlasting *Heere*, "which no human being has a right to change in our Bible." Add, that after the long struggle, in which "Calvinists and Papists" had made common cause, the law had been altered in favour of religious teaching, and the Government had assumed some of the burden (£130,000) of the "Bible" schools, which now numbered 460, with 76,000 children.

The time was at hand when, without apprehension, the Society might bid farewell to the quaint stork-and-tulip country, with its picturesque towns, vast pastures, and gaily-coloured inland shipping. Its old universities were comparatively quiet now, and Scottish and English youths no longer sought their classrooms as in the days of Junius and Spanheim; but if scholasticism had passed away, a spirit of practical Christianity was alive and alert in other institutions. Everywhere one found Christian refuges for the poor and destitute, orphanages, asylums for the afflicted, homes for the fallen, a magnificent establishment for the insane—all these based on the principles of that book which was henceforth to be the sacred trust of the Netherlands Society and the new Auxiliary.

On the 1st November 1892—the total distribution of the agency from 1843 having been 1,446,905, and that of the Netherlands Society from 1815, 1,970,572 copies[1]—the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Holland was closed.

The expenditure for the nine years, from 1884, was £25,802; the receipts from sales amounted to £18,186; but the difference between the two was lessened by £2313, the result of collections and gifts, which included one legacy of £8, 6s. 8d. from a pious servant girl, another of £83 from

[1] Population, 4,500,000—$\frac{2}{3}$ths Roman Catholic and 60,000 Jews.

the Lady Fabricius of Zeist, a third of £393 from Pastor Dekker, of the pretty village of Appeldoorn, an impulsive donation of 500 francs from a nameless friend ("We cannot let you go"), and many an unexpected offering from the poor, besides the 7d. of a little child who had "no other money," and the tribute of 5d. from our *Heere* friend, in his amazement at hearing that the cheapness of the "right" Bible was partly due to the contributions of the South Sea Islanders.[1]

Kindly relations did not cease after the withdrawal. Year by year, even during the national estrangement caused by the war in South Africa, a remittance from the Dutch Bible Committee ("the new Auxiliary") has shown "that the Society has always friends in Holland who profoundly feel the obligations due to it." With other remembrances, these contributions amounted in 1904 to £1,116. At that date the Dutch Bibles, Testaments, and Portions issued by the Society from the beginning amounted to 2,625,905 copies.

On the 7th November 1903 Mr Grelinger passed away, in his seventy-sixth year, at Spiez in Switzerland. In recognition of his loyal and efficient service his name had stood on the list of Honorary Foreign Members since 1894.

In Norway the action of the Committee was determined by the same solicitude for the welfare of the people. From 1884 to 1890 the work of the agencies proceeded steadily upon the established lines. Younger men were raised up to fill the places of veterans called to their rest; fluctuations in the annual returns marked a time of industrial depression or a kindling of religious fervour; otherwise there was little to note except in the wanderings of the colporteurs. Summer and winter these were abroad. There were still wild upland

[1] Mention should be made of a set of New Testament plates for a South African edition, presented by the printers, Messrs Roeroffzen and Hübner of Amsterdam, in 1886.

parishes to explore and islands in the sea-beaten *Skjaergaard*. Even after the experience of twenty years and in frequented districts, the Biblemen occasionally discovered huts on the fjeld, farmsteads on the shores of some lonely "water," forester hamlets in the thick of the fir-woods, never before approached for the distribution of the Scriptures. The last efforts of Pedersen in the Lofodens are mentioned in the report for 1885. Two years later, age and infirmity had compelled Hans Olsen to relinquish his light summer journeys, and the skilful old stocking-weaver and his wife were looking forward to a peaceful refuge in the hospital at Trondhjem.

Anders Holbæk—the second Anders—was still afoot; at one time faring in the western wilds about Gyland and Siredal, at another passing beyond Hitterdal and its famous date-forgotten pagoda-like church of carved and painted timber to Smoking Fall (Ryukan Fos) and the northern reaches of the Water of Tin; coming on pleasant traces of his father, which taught him "never to work for God with a doubting heart"; meeting year by year with more frequent evidence of the love and reverence in which the people held the Bible. "I can do nothing for the work but this, but this I can do," said a friendly man as he carried Holbæk's books on horseback the whole of a snowy day, high up in the mountains. In Söndeleid "the people were very helpful to me, coming on such an errand. One man went about with me for three days and took as recompense a copy of the Psalms, price 2¾d. Many went with me two days each, without accepting any reward. They showed me the way, rowed me across and down the fjords, carried the books, and recommended my wares to others. Söndeleid and Gjerestad parishes had not been visited by a colporteur since my father travelled there, many years ago. It was a joyful thing to hear of the fruits of my father's labours there, and of the blessings derived from the Holy Scriptures which he had

circulated." In the spring journey of 1887 Anders was accompanied by his younger brother, August. On Whit-Monday they attended a meeting of the Inner Mission at Tvidt, to which a considerable crowd came in from Omlid and the surrounding parishes: place of meeting, a tall fir-wood, warm and sunny, carpeted with cones and dry needles, and "decorated in the best manner"—with foliage of the silver birch and other beautiful tokens of the new spring; creature comforts supplied in a large barn, where Anders placed his book-case, all convenient, and "had nearly as good a distribution as those who sold food and coffee." It was a bright beginning of what must have been the happiest of his long wayfarings. Messengers came with horse or conveyance to take him to outlying hamlets, where the people needed him—to read the word of God by a grave-side; to provide them with Bibles and Testaments; to converse and pray with them at the fall of the day. Everywhere he was treated with affectionate respect and hospitality, gladly helped, and furthered on his way. A tender light is thrown upon these incidents by the closing passages of Holbæk's report: "This is probably the last journey I shall undertake in the service of the Bible Society, as I am so very ill that I can no longer get about as formerly." At Omlid the doctor found that both of his lungs were affected. "I notice that sickness has a seemingly heavy influence on the faculty of the soul also, so that I find myself wholly unfitted to travel long journeys. I have prayed to God many times since I first began as colporteur that He would in the end lay some hindrance in my way when He could use me no longer; and now it appears as though the time had come. It is with tears of thankfulness to God my Father, to the agency, and to the Society that I look back upon the years in which I have been permitted to be connected with His great work."

So the younger brother succeeded, and the people continued to show the same spirit of reverence for the Book and

of helpfulness to its bearer—sending greetings and messages of thanks to the Society for the blessing it had conferred on Norway, counting it "great grace and honour" to have the old Bible-chests under their roofs, providing horse and man for free transport, for would it not be a shame to charge with carriage the Society which had done so much for them? "In Tvedestrand," wrote August, "when I first asked the agents of the steamers whether I could deposit my boxes and cases with them, I was met with sundry excuses; but when they heard who I was, and recognised the boxes again, there was nothing to hinder me, and they could stop there as long as I would without payment. And many friends smiled pleasantly when they saw the old chest, and said, 'Ah, now! is that the old chest your father had?'" Then, suddenly, in 1891 "our dear colporteur, August Holbæk," was summoned in his turn to a higher service.

On the 3rd May 1887, at the age of forty-four, died Mr T. B. Chalmer, a devout English merchant, who had acted as treasurer of the Christiania Committee since the withdrawal of Mr John T. Mitchell, and a month or two later, "with a high sense of the honour of assisting in the Society's work," Consul-General Michell accepted the position of honorary agent.

Early in the following year the Committee undertook the cost of publishing the Bible for the benefit of the Kwain or Norwegian-Lapp population—about 17,000 souls—who had never possessed the complete Scriptures in their native tongue. Mr H. J. Atkinson, M.P., formerly a member of the Committee, contributed £200 towards the expense; and in 1889 Genesis was issued by the Norwegian Bible Society. So keen an interest was taken in the translation—the work of Lars Hætta, revised by Professor J. A. Friis of Christiania—that the Bishop of Tromsö was able to collect from the Lapps and other friends sufficient to print the book of Isaiah in the same year.[1]

[1] Other Portions followed, and in 1895, after the British and Foreign Bible

PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Rev. William Wright

The agency lost in 1890 one of its oldest and most highly valued supporters in Anders Gröndahl, printer and bookseller, who had been associated with its work from its inauguration by Dr Paterson in 1832. During fifty-eight years he had carried through the press and despatched to the centres of distribution by far the greater bulk of the million odd volumes of Norwegian Scriptures which the Society had circulated in all parts of the globe.

In the summer of the same year a happy and unexpected event removed the chief difficulty in the way of leaving the Bible-work of Norway to the piety of its own people. The second revision of the Bible, long retarded by want of funds, had been completed in 1888; in 1890 the Norwegian Bible Society decided to publish an edition without the Apocryphal Books. Mr Charles Finch, the assistant foreign secretary, was in Norway, stimulating and strengthening the agencies, and in a most cordial interview with Pastor Eckhoff, secretary of the Norwegian Bible Society, the two Societies were drawn into a closer and more effective co-operation. In 1891 the Christiania Agency obtained the use of the new Norwegian text, and fresh editions of the Old and New Testaments were issued.

The day of separation was now drawing near, and though it was hard to take leave of friends who had so long worked with the Society, the large and general distribution of the Scriptures which had been effected, and the kindly and hospitable spirit in which the colporteurs were everywhere made welcome, rendered the time most propitious. The final negotiations were conducted by Mr Finch in 1894. The Norwegian Society undertook to publish and sell the Holy Scriptures without the Apocrypha, to maintain stocks at the centres established by the British Society, to employ colportage and to take over the Society's colporteurs, and

Society had withdrawn, the complete Kwain Bible, without the Apocrypha, was published by the Norske Finnemission.

to invite the co-operation, in its central and diocesan committees, of the official members of the agencies.

When the Society withdrew at the close of the year its agencies had distributed in all 850,017 copies of the Word of God, and the issues of the Norwegian Society amounted to 593,211—an aggregate of 1,443,228 volumes among a population which just exceeded 2,000,000. From 1884 to the close of 1895 the expenditure in connection with the agencies came to £18,452, and the receipts to £11,025. The total expenditure from 1845 stood at £89,329; of which £41,783 returned as receipts from sales.

Of the many Norwegian friends of the Society one alone was privileged to survey the entire work of the agency from its inception to its completion — the patriarchal "Bible-Mohn" of Bergen, brightest, showeriest, most picturesque of Norse cities. Even at the great age of eighty-eight, he visited the camp at Vossevangen, forty or fifty miles away, to provide the soldiers with the Scriptures. Under his care the Bergen sub-agency—dissolved in the forties, one recalls, as of no further use — realised a circulation of over 90,000 copies. With the close of its Bible-story his life-work ended: on 6th February, 1895, he passed away in his ninety-third year, the contemporary of seven kings of Norway, and on the eve of being enrolled among the Vice-Presidents of the Society. Two other Bible worthies, Tobias Siqveland of Christiansand and P. Ulstad of Trondhjem, who were appointed Honorary Life Governors as far back as 1870, still survived; and in the Society's list of Honorary Foreign Members for 1895 recognition was made of the eminent services of other Norwegian friends—the Rev. Gustav Jensen and the Rev. K. Eckhoff of Christiania, the Rev. L. Dahle of Stavanger (at one time a member of the Malagasy Revision Committee), the Rev. J. Killengreen of Tromsö, Mr C. J. Dreyer, treasurer of the Tromsö sub-agency from 1858, and Karl, the son of the excellent

"Book-printer, Anders Gröndahl." A special copy of the Scriptures was presented to Consul-General Michell, who, long before these days in Norway, had befriended the Society in Russia during his official appointments in the sixties.

In Norway, as in Sweden, the course taken by the Society was fully justified by events. The circulation of the Norwegian Bible Society increased year after year until it reached some 57,000 copies annually. Between 1895 and 1904 its output was 445,483 copies, or 3000 more in the nine years than had been distributed in its first sixty-eight. Cordial intercourse was maintained between the two Bible Houses; the report of the Norwegian Society for 1898 contained a portrait of Mr Charles Finch (then recently deceased), who was one of its foreign members, and in 1899 and 1900 the London Committee made the Norwegian Society grants of 11,500 copies of Scripture, of the value of £502.

In 1901 the total issue of Norwegian Scriptures by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in all countries, was 331,980 Bibles, 776,368 New Testaments with or without the the Psalter, 97,000 Norwegian and 26,297 Norwegian and English portions = 1,231,645 copies. From 1902 the figures for Norwegian and Danish (practically the same language) have been counted together, without distinction of versions, and to these we shall refer at the close of the present chapter.

The first suggestion that the Christian people of Denmark should take in hand the Bible-work of their own country, and thus far spare the resources of the Society for the benefit of heathen and Mohammedan lands, came from the Committee in 1885, the most turbulent year, perhaps, in the annals of Danish politics. The discord between the Upper and the Lower House had brought legislation to a dead-lock; the Budget was rejected; an attempt was made on the life of the

Prime Minister; the leader of the opposition was imprisoned; liberty of the press and right of public meeting were restricted by a provisional law, and the Folksthing negatived the provisional law, by an overwhelming majority; agitation against personal government provoked counter demonstrations; and the winter closed in with a commercial crisis, panic on the Exchange, heavy failures, and widespread distress. Even in the thick of these troubles the operations of the agency went on with little hindrance, and the circulation of the year (46,039) touched the highest point it had yet attained. But the fact that after the distribution of more than a million Bibles, Testaments, and Portions,[1] the demand for the Word of God was now greater than it had ever been, made it clear that the establishment of an influential and efficient native organisation must precede the transfer of the Society's work. An adequate successor was not likely to be found in the Orphan House which, unrestricted by any obligation to provide good, cheap, and abundant editions of the Sciptures, regarded its publishing monopoly merely as a source of revenue,[2] while the Danish Bible Society, without editions of its own, without a depôt, without colporteurs, without a special manager, was not in a position to take over the extensive business of the agency.

In accordance with the views of the Committee, Mr Plenge opened a correspondence with the directors of the Danish Society, and afterwards had an interview with them. He explained the reasons for the contemplated change, and suggested plans for the reconstruction of the Danish Society on a broader basis, but his proposals were too startling to be readily accepted, and no decision was reached. An appeal was then issued to the Danish Churches: "Who will take up the British Bible Society's work in Denmark,

[1] The Denmark Agency, 660,287 copies; the Danish Bible Society, 376,950.

[2] In 1885 the Society, whose books were known to be sold at a loss, paid £315 in royalty to the Orphan House. During the thirteen years the royalty amounted to £2165.

when, in a near future, it retires?" The article which drew forth numberless expressions of appreciation and regret, was read and discussed in all parts of the country, and the strongly awakened interest of the people reacted on the directors of the Danish Society. They entered into negotiations with the Orphan House for a more liberal exercise of its monopoly, procured the co-operation of the provincial societies, which had drifted out of touch, and obtained from the throne the moral and material support of a royal order for an annual Bible-fund collection in all churches in the kingdom. In a later appeal Mr Plenge urged the adoption of such radical changes in the constitution and management of the Danish Society as would evoke the sympathy and generosity of the nation, and so fit it for those duties which should be the glory of a Protestant country. A collection, which realised £775, relieved the Danish Society of its existing liabilities, and left intact a fund of £3000 for future engagements; a new edition of the Psalms was issued in 1887; an edition of the Bible was begun under the supervision of its own directors; and, finally, it consented to make its first experiment in colportage with three Biblemen.

While these effective developments were in progress, the agency maintained the high standard of activity which it proposed to leave to its successor. Though its staff of Biblemen included veterans who "would not give up the blessed work which had become dear to them"—Andersen of Aarhuus, nearly eighty years old; Mortensen of Fünen, whose "invalid leg was stiffened with hoops of iron"; Christensen of South Jütland, a sufferer from bronchitis and asthma—the colportage returns were kept up to a yearly average of little less than 15,000 copies. With unfailing liberality it continued its relations with the local missions and the many Christian unions and private persons whose efforts were banded against the indifference and the atheism

of the time ; and from its depôt were supplied the thousands of volumes dispersed by means of the Sunday-schools, prayer-meetings, Bible-readings, Sunday meetings for servants, soldiers, factory girls, and those "court-yard" gatherings which were the wonder of Copenhagen. In the new quarters of the city great five and six storey blocks, which housed fifty or sixty families, looked into roomy inner courts, where the troops of children played. These readily joined the "court-yard missionaries" in singing the pretty hymns they had learnt at school. "The sound called the inhabitants to the windows ; the mild summer night invited them to leave their close rooms and join the little singers in the yard, which soon contained a congregation of several hundreds of men and women—workmen, merchants, and shop-people, aged women and little girls, young lads and worn-out men, that hastily gathered from the neighbouring houses. . . . By this means your Gospel of St Luke found its way to hundreds of families."

In November 1888 the Society took part in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of King Christian's accession to the throne of Denmark. Gratefully remembering the interest which the King had always shown, and the personal act of grace by which they were permitted to print and sell the Bible without the Apocrypha in his dominions, the Committee decided to present a handsome inscribed Bible and an illuminated address, if his Majesty would be pleased to accept them. Not only was the royal assent granted, but the King graciously received Mr Plenge in private audience, and expressed his recognition of the good work which the Society had accomplished among his people, and his hope that it would not leave them. A few months later—March 1889—in a petition signed by 9000 persons of various denominations, the Society was entreated to take no steps towards immediate withdrawal. It was a touching evidence of the impression which the work had made on the mind of many of the

Christian people of Denmark, and of the warm feeling in which it was held in recollection.

Meanwhile, however, the Danish Bible Society had manifested a remarkable spirit of enterprise and power of expansion. From the average 4000 copies of the last twenty years, the circulation had sprung up to 10,000. At an outlay of £1500 it had completed its edition of the Bible and issued a New Testament. It had increased the number of its colporteurs, reduced its prices, gratuitously supplied many Sunday-schools and benevolent institutions, and had entered into closer connection with the Sleswick-Holstein Bible Society to provide the Danish-speaking people of the Duchies with the Scriptures in their native tongue. 1888 was the turning-point in its history; from that date it advanced from strength to strength, but thus far only was Mr Plenge permitted to take a part in the busy period of transition.

On the 1st October 1889 he completed his twenty-fourth year of service. "Should the Lord, in His grace, grant me another year," he wrote, "the man of three-and-forty will have become sixty-eight, and think it time to retire." For some weeks he had felt his strength declining, though his mind was clear and vigorous, and nine days later he had a premonition that his earthly tasks were done. Only the arrangement of "my dear Society's affairs" rested heavily upon him. He forwarded a detailed scheme for the continuation of the work, received in reply the "line of approval" for which he longed, and on the 22nd peacefully surrendered his spirit. A coffin shrouded in flowers, a sorrowing congregation of the best and most distinguished of his countrymen, were the last tokens of the affection with which he was laid to rest in the magnificent Garrison Church, erected through his patient and fervid insistence. During his tenure of office the circulation of the agency rose from 16,000 to 46,000 a year, and the total distribution which was 115,000 when he was appointed, stood at 888,000 when he died. He was

succeeded by his relative, Lieutenant-Colonel Irenæus Ravn, whose gifts and conciliatory disposition specially fitted him for the delicate duties of the post; and in the spring of 1890 Mr Finch visited Copenhagen, and strengthened the hands of the agent by the appointment of several influential and representative men as a consultative committee.

At this time the position of Denmark in regard to Bible-work was one of exceptional interest. The demand for the Scriptures in 1889-90 was stated to be at the rate of 13 copies per 1000 of the population in Germany; 17 per 1000 in Norway; 18 in Switzerland, and 21 in Holland. In Denmark it was 28 per 1000; the population, in the main Lutheran, with a minority of 4000 Jews and 3000 Roman Catholics, numbered 2,172,000 souls; and between the Danish Society and the British Agency an aggregate of 1,293,000 copies had been distributed. Through the blessing of Heaven a great work had so far been achieved, and year after year witnessed the steady emergence of a guarantee for the future, firmly based on the good heart of the nation. The circulation of the Danish Society rose from 10,000 to 22,000 copies a year. In 1873 it exceeded 23,000; 14 colporteurs were employed; and hearty co-operation was given by ten provincial societies, many of which sent out colporteurs of their own. By 1895 a Pocket Bible, a Wedding Bible, and various editions similar in size and style to those of the agency had passed through the press; 20 colporteurs were afoot; and the issues of the year amounted to 27,500 copies.

As the operations of the native society were amplified, the work of the agency contracted, and its circulation gradually fell to about 25,000 a year. Its Biblemen were still busy among the emigrant ships and steamers at Copenhagen, in Fünen and Laaland, Falster and Bornholm, among the fishermen in Jütland and the charcoal-burners in the beech-

woods round Fredericksborg; but of the worthies we knew, the only survivor was Mortensen of the iron hoops.

In July 1894 Mr Finch was again in Denmark, and as the outcome of a pleasant interview with Dean Poulsen, the secretary of the Danish Society, its Directors were invited by the Committee to render withdrawal possible by adding to the Danish catalogue two editions of the Bible without the Apocryphal books. The concession was readily granted, and the Committee looked forward to the completion of the new revision of the Danish Testament as marking the date of their departure. That event was hastened, however, by the sudden death of Colonel Ravn. On the morning of January 21st 1895—only a few days before the decease of the patriarchal "Bible-Mohn"—he was found to have passed quietly away in his sleep. The charge of affairs was kindly taken over by Pastor Dalhoff, secretary of the Deaconesses' Mission and vice-chairman of the consultative committee; and on the 15th October 1895—after forty years' tenure of the agency—the Committee transferred its work, for continuation as nearly as possible on the same lines, to the Danish Bible Society. During those years it had distributed 1,049,336, Bibles, Testaments, and Portions, while apparently, the total issues of the Danish Society did not exceed 527,000.

The expenditure from 1857 to 1884 had been £49,291; that from 1884 to the time of withdrawal was £31,791—a total of £81,082. The corresponding receipts were £20,493 and £17,242—in all, £37,735.

The last official act of the Committee was to inscribe on the list of Honorary Foreign Members the names of its good friends, Pastor Dalhoff, Dean Poulsen, afterwards Bishop of Viborg, and Pastor Vahl of Norre Alslev.

As in the case of Norway and the Netherlands, Protestant Denmark rose to its obligations. In 1896 no fewer than 40 colporteurs were traversing the country in connection with the Deaconesses' Institute, and the annual distribution was

54,000 copies, of which 20,600 were Bibles. In later years the average circulation was from 45,000 to 46,000; and in 1903 the New Year church collections throughout the kingdom amounted to £1120.

In 1901 the British and Foreign Bible Society had issued 1,215,250 copies of Scripture in Danish. From 1902 the Norwegian and Danish texts were treated as a single language, and at the close of the century the aggregate of the two stood at 2,454,398—of which 565,080 were Bibles and 1,366,668 New Testaments with or without the Psalms.

Throughout these years direct communication was regularly maintained between the Bible House and Iceland. In 1886 and again in 1888 grants of £20 enabled Bishop Pjetursson to send out a colporteur; for although about 30,000 Bibles and Testaments had been distributed among a population estimated at less than 70,000, there were still many outlying places where the Word of God was scarce, and among the wild fells, heathy wastes, sand-tracts and lava-runs, where a Bibleman needed four or five of the small island horses for a journey, colportage was expensive. From time to time, too, consignments were forwarded to him for the use of the French fishermen who frequented these waters.

Burdened with years, the good Bishop resigned his stool at the close of 1889, when King Christian conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog[1]—in Denmark a rare, in Iceland a unique honour,—but he continued his oversight of the Society's work until his death in May 1891, in the eighty-fourth year of his age and the twenty-fifth of his episcopacy. His mantle fell on his successor, Bishop Sveinsson, who established between thirty and forty distributing district stations, entered earnestly into the needs

[1] Instituted by Valdemar II. in 1219, revived by Christian V. in 1671. The Dannebrog was the miraculous white cross on a blood-red field said to have fallen from heaven, while the Primate Andreas Suneson was praying with uplifted hands on a high hill, in the crusade against pagan Esthonia in 1219.

of the French fishermen, and took up the cause of Icelanders abroad. In 1893 books were sent at his request to his "oppressed Lutheran countrymen in Utah" (for the Latter-day Saints had preached their gross creed even in the remote saga-island); and in 1900 supplies were voted on "missionary terms" for the Icelandic settlers in Manitoba. Between 1896 and 1904 the Committee granted 3220 copies (value £362), for the most part through the Bishop.

For many years the Icelandic Bible Society had done little in the way of distribution. Its resources had been husbanded with a view to the revision of the Icelandic text, and in 1897, when the available fund amounted to some £1200, that important task was begun by the Rev. Haraldur Nielsson of Copenhagen University, under the supervision of the Bishop and two other Icelandic scholars. A subsidy of £50 for six years and subsequently a grant of £100 were voted by the Committee in aid of the undertaking. Genesis was published in 1899, and the four Gospels, Acts, and Isaiah appeared before the end of the Centenary year. Bishop Sveinsson was enrolled among the Honorary Foreign Members in 1900, and the Rev. Haraldur Neilsson in 1901.

During its hundred years the Society issued on its own account 9561 Bibles and 20,551 New Testaments — 30,112 copies—in Icelandic.

CHAPTER XLIV

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS IN FRANCE

As the fifth period opened, a turbid wave of political and secularist excitement swept through the towns and cities of France. In their fierce revolt against Ultramontane claims the agitators mixed up irreligion and Liberalism with such violence of speech that multitudes were led to regard unbelief as an essential sign of the true Republican. A member of the Government officially declared the Christianity of France "a superstition degrading to humanity." The Freethinkers of Paris organised their forces on the system of the Church which they were leagued to destroy. They opposed its "dogmas of credulity" with atheistic propositions, divided the capital into parishes, had their services, preachers, collections; celebrated baptisms and marriages; carried red *immortelles* instead of lighted tapers to the grave-side, and consoled the bereaved with eulogies of the good fight which the deceased had fought against religion, and by forecasts of the materialist millennium. Their imitation of Romanism extended to its bigotry and intolerance. "Never were Freethinkers so fanatical as those of Paris. The mere mention of 'God' makes them redden with rage."[1] Even women were infected by the spirit of blasphemous negation.

In the summer and autumn of 1885 the Exposition du Travail at Paris presented an opportunity for a considerable distribution of the Scriptures. The agency entered as

[1] *The Spectator*, 11th October 1884.

French exhibitors, and £40 was paid for the privilege of sale and free circulation. Supplies of Gospels and Portions were laid out on tables with a printed notice that they were offered gratis. The display was little to the taste of the Exhibition authorities. Ministers of State and distinguished visitors were carefully diverted from the Society's exhibits, and without a doubt the silver gilt medal awarded to its magnificent show of linguistic achievements was due to the advertisement of the gold medal conferred at the Exhibition at Antwerp. By a singular irony, at this crisis of anti-clericalism, the Bible stall appeared in the "Section de l'Enseignement," and the Word of God, whose name made men "redden with rage," was included in the category of *matériel scolaire*. Over 100 copies were sold in seventeen languages, and during the four months 20,500 Gospels were carried away, one by one, without any attempt having been made to press acceptance.

In 1886 the Government resumed control of education, and the religious orders were expelled from the schools. The result was a deplorable contrast with the statesmanship of fifty years before, when the Society's Testaments were ordered for the public schools by the 20,000, and the Minister of Public Instruction vindicated his action on the ground that the Bible was "the code of the sublimest religion and of the purest morality." "Our Governors," wrote M. Monod, "lose no opportunity to inform the world that, in their opinion, children ought not to be led superstitiously to believe in a living God, that the Bible is a tissue of fables, that all ends with the present life." The official school-books were more scrupulously purged of Christian truth than of obscenity. This perversion of the young was but a phase of a widespread depravity. Blasphemous pamphlets were scattered broadcast, and shameless pictures were flaunted in the shop-windows, and on the walls of Paris.

Colportage, always difficult in the towns, was now a harder task than ever. In the country the old obstacles were still to be overcome. It was a marvel with what courage, with what patience, with what brightness of spirit went forth the little band of men on whom the work of the Society chiefly depended. "Since I have been selling these Gospels," wrote Pastor Cremer of Brive, in the Corrèze, "I understand better what an amount of faith and perseverance is necessary in a colporteur. Rebuffs every day; and whole days without a sale! Yesterday, in every house I entered, I received nothing but words of scorn and anger. I had walked much, and I felt quite sick. In my case I had only to go back to the hotel and rest. But I thought of my brethren, the colporteurs. Who makes such work as this possible? Who sustains them? Yet some people doubt whether miracles can still happen!"

When most numerous in this period there were but sixty-six colporteurs in all[1]—a mere handful, which disappeared like leaves in the illimitable landscapes of the six vast districts into which France was divided. Yet every one of them was in constant touch with the agent at Paris. To-day or to-morrow he might be amongst them, counselling, sympathising, appreciating, encouraging; and those were red-letter visits on which he was accompanied by one of the Secretaries, or some genial member of Committee. Thanks to the increase of railway facilities, he could now cover double the distance of earlier days, and pack 7000 or 8000 miles of travel into the business of the year. Wherever an earnest Protestant pastor was stationed, the colporteur had a friend, and in Brittany the local committee of Welsh missionaries brought the men together for conference and prayer.

From the Ardennes and the Belgian frontier, through the French "Black Country" with its coal-pits, factories,

[1] Equivalent to fifty employed all the year round.

and Flemish brick-fields, eight or nine of the staff worked westward among the sea-ports and watering-places, the towns, villages, and farms of eleven Départements, to the borders of Finistère and Morbihan. As one approached Breton soil, one heard a popular song suggesting a short reckoning with "the Protestant Bible-bringer," or met with the *Journal d'Avranches* which attacked Lebel of Cherbourg as "a renegade," "a bird of prey," "a son of Satan," whose black box was filled with "infamous pamphlets that had heaped victims upon victims in hell."

The Western District fronted the swing of the Atlantic from Finistère to the Basses Pyrénées. Here the number of colporteurs was largest—fifteen in 1887, eighteen in 1898. One passed southward from the ships and sailors of Brest and the old Breton towns to the labourers and merchant people of Nantes in the beautiful Loire country; thence to Bordeaux and the pine-covered flats of Gironde; and onward to the mediæval villages of the Landes and the shepherds who knitted stockings as they stalked on high stilts before their sheep across the salt marshes and sandy heaths of the Adour. In the wild Celtic regions, where strange superstitions and observances lingered like mist about the stone circles and monoliths of an immemorial heathenism, the colporteur reached places far beyond the range of the evangelist. On all sides he found ignorance and indifference mingled with such a dread of the priests as might have been a survival of Druidism. "The *curé* will burn your books, and refuse our children their first communion." "We have no time to pray or to read; the *curé* will do all that for us." "Have you the life of St Yves?—our servant can read." "Have you the story of Our Lady and the Children of La Salette?" and the ready answer, "No, but I have the appearance of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin Mary at Nazareth, to foretell the birth of Jesus," aroused curiosity. A large part of the population in Finistère were unable to

read, but the law of compulsory gratis education was bringing French into use.

In 1885 7000 copies of the revised Breton Testament were issued, and 5000 diglots (Breton and French) left the press in the following year. Shortly afterwards the price was reduced to twenty centimes (2d.). The *Indépendence Bretonne* seconded the pulpit in warning the people against the Bibleman and his wicked books. Some shrugged their shoulders: "After all, the *curé* knows best whether a book is bad, and he is responsible." Others were bolder. On a chance meeting with a dozen labourers in the fields it was ascertained that they all had the cheap Testament, and met on Sundays to read it. In 1890, when the Gospels were published as separate Portions for the benefit of the 3000 Bretons, men and women, who went over the Jersey to get in the harvest and potato-crops, the Word of God was to be found in six out of ten houses for 4 miles around Morlaix. In Maine et Loire, where convents abounded, and there was a brisk trade in pieces of string which, having touched the Virgin's hair in the monastery of La Trappe, were sold at thirty centimes as a charm to be tied round the waists of puny children, the *Patriote d'Angers* pointed out Quennesson as a German spy, and set the *gendarmes* to work. Almost everywhere in La Vendée the colporteur was insulted, calumniated, run after in the streets, threatened by the police, arrested on the roads. After he had passed, the priest made his rounds, laid the price of a book on the table, seized it with the tongs lest he should be defiled, and dropped it into the fire. At times his reverence had to pay more than the price, and the money was spent in replacing the Testament with a Bible. The Freethinkers also remained as bitter as ever, but, in general, the people became more kindly disposed, and those who would not buy listened at least to what was said of the Scriptures. In 1889 Lance, who had charge of the Loire-Inférieure, La Vendée, and

the Two Charentes, was able to write: "As I recall the difficulties of the first years, when children watched my movements to throw stones at me, under the eyes of approving parents, I am struck with the progress made up to the present."

Immense tracts of Dordogne were covered with woods; the houses stood three and four kilometres apart, and the colporteur often arrived to find that no one could read. Days and days the long tramp with the heavy load was fruitless; still when copies were sold it was to people who otherwise would never have seen the Word of God. And every copy contained the possibility of a future church. In the middle of the seventies a Bible was sold by Pons to a schoolmaster in the Gers. Eleven years went by in silence. Then in 1885 came from the large village of Fleurence an earnest petition that Pastor Philip of the Protestant Church at Mauvezin, the only one in the Département, should go and preach there. He was received at the schoolmaster's house by two hundred people. They had no political object in view; there were no ecclesiastical disputes; their desire to hear the Gospel had sprung solely from the reading of that single volume. In a little while seventy-eight families regularly attended worship; one of the congregation took up local colportage, and arrangements were in progress for a resident pastor.[1]

The Western District ended in the Basque mountains, once a blood-drenched arena of religious reprisals, now a land of cloisters and of statues of the saints, though there were places in which it would have been hazardous for a colporteur to stay for the night. The majority of the population was illiterate; many knew no French. St Luke in the Labourdin dialect, from the version made for Prince Lucien Bonaparte

[1] By 1888 about 120 Protestant congregations had thus resulted from the visit of one or other of the colporteurs, and sometimes from the sale of a solitary book.

by Captain Duvoisin,[1] had already been published by the Society. Another edition, with the Gospels of St Mark and St John, revised by M. Vinson, a Basque scholar, appeared (some 2000 copies) in 1887. Translations in the Souletin dialect brought the Society into contact with a lowly heroine of Bible-work. A simple Basque girl, Anna Urruty was brought up in the Roman Catholicism of her own people. About the year 1850 she took service with the family of Pastor de la Harpe of Bordeaux, accepted the Protestant faith, and unconsciously prepared herself for duties yet unknown. In obedience to a call from one of the Evangelical Missions, she became a Biblewoman, first in the lowest parts of Paris, then in Béarn, her native country, where she suffered much persecution. By steady application she translated the Gospel of St John and the Epistles of St Peter from the French of De Sacy and Ostervald into the Souletin of her childhood; worked hard and late to provide money for their publication, and produced them at her own expense in 1873. They were afterwards revised, and at the earnest request of Pastor Bohin 3000 copies of the Epistles were printed for the Society at Bayonne in 1887 and 3000 of St John at Orthez in 1888. In the latter year appeared also 500 copies of Ruth, Jonah, and the Song of Solomon from the Souletin version which Prince Lucien commissioned from M. Archu; and the Prince was reading the proofs of Genesis and the Psalms when his eyesight failed, and the undertaking was indefinitely postponed.

Happily a Basque convert, Loustalot, who had joined the staff of colporteurs, sold 4672 copies of these editions in a twelvemonth, but in the next two years all the hostile influences of the priests were combined against him, his sales fell to a few hundreds, and, harassed and disheartened

[1] The only complete Bible in Basque; published in London 1859-65. The New Testament of Liçarrague, dedicated to Jeanne D'Albret and published the year before the Massacre of St Bartholomew (vol. i. p. 398), though classed by some as Lower Navarrese, was regarded by the Prince as Labourdin.

by persecution, he left for South America. Occasional copies were afterwards sold by Cazalet of Tarbes, but to the close of the period the Basque country remained almost impenetrable, and there seemed to be little hope of progress until another native should have entered the field.

The Southern District—nineteen Départements—extended from the Hautes Pyrénées to the Italian frontier. It contained over half the Protestant population of France. The colporteurs were nearly as numerous as in the West—sixteen in 1887, ten in 1898. At the fairs at Tarbes were to be seen all the races and costumes from twenty leagues around—"the white cap of Bigorre, the brown of Foix, the red of Rousillon, sometimes even the great flat hat of Aragon, the round hat of Navarre, the pointed cap of Biscay." To Lourdes, beautiful and picturesque in its valley opening towards the snow mountains, white trains, blue trains, trains of all colours (named after the colour of the railway tickets), brought tens of thousand of pilgrims and patients.

February 11th, 1858, was the date of Bernadotte's first "vision" of the beautiful Lady robed and veiled in white, with a rosary hanging from her folded hands, a blue girdle round her waist, golden roses on her bare feet. Within a few weeks the countryside was in a state of excitement, and multitudes crowded to the Grotto and miraculous spring of Massabielle, the "Old Rocks." The action of the Prefect and the police in trying to bring the people to reason was ascribed to blindness of heart—a judgment which had been provoked by the corrupted books of the colporteurs, "who drew down the wrath of God upon every country they entered." One good Bibleman was arrested on false charges, tried, and acquitted; but the crowds of the poverty-stricken and suffering, the prayers of the sick, the paralysed, the blind, the sight of mothers with dying children in their arms broke down the resolution of the authorities. "The passionate desire to be healed did heal; the thirst for a

miracle worked a miracle." A white marble statue of "the Immaculate Conception" marked the site of the first "apparition." Above the cavern in the Old Rocks rose a magnificent basilica, the walls of which were covered with ex-votos. A new Lourdes sprang up, with its railway, its numberless restaurants, hotels, and shops for the sale of rosaries, images, and religious ornaments. The priests did their best to banish the colporteur from their streets, to forbid his approach to the Grotto; but many of the pilgrims were willing to listen and to buy, and on the top of the neighbouring hill, where a cross and stone statues represented the Crucifixion, and there were pictures of the last scenes of Our Lord's life on earth, the people were shown how the story told in stone and colour was all contained in the little books which the Bibleman offered them.

Further east the Scriptures were carried through a land of imperishable associations—the country round Toulouse, where a "crusade" of blood and fire had exterminated the Albigenses; the savage Cevennes mountains, stronghold and refuge of the Camisards; the Rhone Valley, where from the toll-barrier at Mornas the river had rolled seaward Protestant corpses lashed two and two to one plank, with the inscription, "O voi d'Avignone, lasciare passare questi mercanti, perchè han pagato il dazio a Mornas;"[1] Nimes, where Protestants were massacred as late as 1815; Aigues Mortes on the sea-shore, where in one of the cells of the Tour de Constance, the word *Resist* had been scratched with her needle by one of the numberless Huguenot prisoners.

In Tarn, Lozère, Ardèche, Drome, where Protestants were most numerous, the blight of indifference and of rationalist teaching had fallen on many of the descendants of the old Huguenot confessors. Even in places consecrated by martyr blood divine worship was almost forsaken, and the whole

[1] "O you (papal tax-gatherers) of Avignon, let these traders pass, for they have already paid toll at Mornas."

population crowded on Sunday afternoons to bull-fights and bull-baiting.

In 1889 Pierre Laffargue, the veteran of Tarn et Garonne, celebrated his jubilee. Congratulations were received from M. Monod, M. Courtois of the benevolent Toulouse family, and other friends; and a letter from the Committee, with a great Bible, expressed their appreciation of his long and faithful service. He had joined the ranks in 1839, and his total sales averaged two copies for each day in the fifty years. "I am a poor ignorant man," he said, "but the Lord has always enabled me to stand for Him; and I have seen fruits of my work." So at the age of seventy-six he rested on his nets, awaiting the last call.

"The white wolf!" had once been the cry in the Eastern Pyrénées, and people hastened into their houses and closed the doors; now at last they had a friendly word for the man with the Protestant books. At Marseilles the depôt, which was shared with the Religious Tract Society, stood on the route to the quays. Tourists and travellers from all parts of the world looked in at the windows, and every day there were numerous calls. During the cholera thousands of Gospels were given away to the workpeople at the factories, and a large distribution was made among the troops embarking for Tonquin. In 1891 over 10,000 copies were circulated. Pastors and laymen co-operated with the Society at Toulon. Among the holiday resorts of the Riviera colportage did not flourish; but at Cannes the Auxiliary was in charge of the local pastors, who were well supplied with the Word of God. So little was done at Nice that in 1892 the depôt was transferred to the M'All Mission. Monaco was visited, though the colporteur knew that he ran the risk of imprisonment.

In many of the cantons of Provence French was still almost a foreign tongue; the Gospel of St Mark, translated by Pastor Fesquet into the Lasalle St Pierre dialect of the

old language of the Troubadours, was published in 1888, and was warmly praised by Mistral, the poet of *Mirèio*.

Seven, and afterwards five, men worked through the arduous mountain regions of the Eastern District. In the Hautes and Basses Alpes, where small Protestant groups, separated by deep gorges, were hardly accessible in summer and were shut up for months in the snowdrifts, Andéol was away from home for eight or ten weeks at a stretch—faring well, faring not so well; refused food by the inn-keeper, driven from the doors with abuse, invited to the *curé's* table; now sheltered for the night in a hayloft, now warmly housed and reading the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians to neighbours who had come in to hear a traveller's tales. In one place a telegram awaited him with news of his child's death far away at home. In the Waldensian country he found one old priest who in word and deed preached the pure Gospel. The numerous Protestants of the Jura were scattered and cut off from religious services; many had lapsed into apathy; some left their children to be taught by Roman Catholics.

Terrier, once a novice in the cloister, travelled far and wide through the Doubs with his light hand-cart. For over thirty years the sturdy Dugrenier, in the blue blouse of the French peasant, was a well-known figure in the Haute Marne and two neighbouring Départements. Four months out of the twelve he gave to farm-work on his own land; the rest to the Bible. The notes and illustrations connected with the history and traditions of the Huguenots, collected in his travels, filled three MS. volumes. His father, a devout Romanist, who made forty-mile pilgrimages barefoot, had been led to a simple acceptance of Christ through a New Testament sold by a hawker. "Old Jacquet" of the first Bible Christmas Tree still moved through the Vosges and the Communes of the Meurthe, "like a kind of itinerant apostle."

Of the two Central Districts it will suffice to note that in

the Puy de Dôme two hundred villages were explored to sell 400 Gospels; and that the Biblemen knew they were nearing Paris by the steady decline of their sales. Between Versailles and the capital whole days were spent in trying to dispose of a single copy. In and around Paris, however, the evangelistic agencies were so numerous that the part taken by the Society was chiefly justified by the method of the work.

From the chequered story of these years one clear fact emerged: by their lives and their labours the colporteurs had accomplished a great work of enlightenment and justification. What was now called "the Protestant faith" was respected by Roman Catholics who, ten years earlier, had held in abhorrence the Scriptures and those who circulated them. Even in the West the people had in some measure freed themselves from the superstitious awe with which they had regarded their priests, and wanted to know on which side the truth lay. In almost every village interest was taken in spiritual matters, and many who had no thought of leaving the Church gathered together to read the Bible. New Testaments and Gospels—books distributed in the Crimea, during the Franco-German war, at the Exhibitions—were found treasured in out-of-the-way places, and the owners had been led by them to a true knowledge of the Saviour. Out of their poverty some of the poorest contributed to the progress of the cause. The colporteurs had never been allowed to ask for contributions, and they had prudently refused all money beyond the actual price of their books. In 1885 M. Monod devised a collecting-book, so that they might record and present a receipt for the gifts offered in gratitude or kindness. The amount of such collections averaged some £30 a year.

These were among the Bibleman's encouragements. One of his constant troubles came from his friends. Good people could not be persuaded of the mischievous effects of haphazard free distribution. Even evangelists adopted the system in

increasing numbers. After the "Bible-carriage" had passed, or some irresponsible lady or gentleman had scattered Scriptures "like butterflies," the books were collected and burned, colportage became impracticable, and the zealous men, who had trudged uselessly for many a mile, were accused of selling for their own profit what they were paid to give away. With Testaments and Gospels priced at a few centimes, what excuse could there be for such complete waste?[1]

Although the main field of the Society's French work had long lain among the enormous Roman Catholic population, there were still friends at home who could not reconcile themselves to the circulation of a Vulgate translation. Unvarying evidence from all quarters made it clear, however, that the De Sacy version could not be withdrawn without impairing the usefulness of the agency. In some places it was the only version that Roman Catholics would look at; in others it placated the *curés* and saved the colporteurs' books from prompt consignment to the fire. At the best the work was hedged about with difficulties, and in many instances De Sacy's text served as a passport to the colporteur, and prepared the way for the acceptance of other versions which he had to offer.

In 1884 the revised Bible of Ostervald was placed at the disposal of the Committee by the Bible Society of France, and as the vacillations of large sections of the French Reformed Church left considerable uncertainty as to the future of Segond's fine version, Ostervald's was adopted as the standard French text.[2]

[1] In 1894 when inquiries were made with a view to forming a number of small depôts in the west large stocks of Bibles and Testaments sent by the Society for the Gratuitous Distribution of the Scriptures were found lying perfectly useless in the hands of pastors who had not asked for them.

[2] June 18th, 1885, at the age of seventy-five, Dr Segond died of inflammation of the lungs, at Geneva, where he was Professor of Hebrew. A letter of deep sympathy was addressed to his daughters at the unanimous desire of the Committee. His version enjoyed a large circulation in France through the Protestant Bible Society of Paris and the Geneva colporteurs. The attention of the Committee was

The general attitude of the priesthood was, as we have seen, implacably hostile; yet there were numerous instances in which *curés* treated the wandering Bibleman with extreme kindness, acknowledged his good work, bade him God-speed. At Contréxeville the Archbishop of Bourges frequently passed near Dugrenier's stall, even saluted him, and though his Grace bought nothing himself, he sent his chaplain for a Bible, and copies were sold to Sisters of Mercy. But there were signs among the clergy of a deeper feeling, of an influence producing a widespread disquiet and a struggle of conscience between the dogmas of the Church and the teaching of the New Testament. Whatever the reason, and probably there were several besides the lamentable inroads of infidelity, even the princes of the Church modified their utterances regarding the use of the Scriptures. "Good books, we admit, are still read," said Monseigneur de Dreux-Brézé, Bishop of Moulins, in his pastoral charge (October, 1886), "but little to the purpose of instruction, calculated rather to nourish transitory pious feelings than a solid religion. How many parishes are there in which perhaps not one person has read systematically and from beginning to end the New Testament, or even a Gospel! If it be so, we are not surprised to meet so many weak and vacillating souls, wasting away of inanition."

Early in 1887 appeared a new translation of the Four Gospels, which electrified religious and literary circles in France. It was dedicated to "Our Lady of Lourdes." It had been twice examined by the theologians of St Sulpice. It bore the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Paris. It displayed in the forefront a letter in which his Holiness

again drawn to its merits in 1900; two years later it was agreed to publish both the Old and the New Testament with references, and a small sub-committee was appointed to draft such textual changes as the original seemed to require, but the alterations and marginal readings suggested by distinguished French and Swiss theologians proved so numerous that the special edition of the New Testament intended for the Centenary could not be issued in time. The printing of the whole Bible began at length in 1906.

Leo XIII. extolled the intention that inspired the translator, and devoutly hoped for the fulfilment of his object.[1] The translator, Henri Lasserre, was a fervid Ultramontane. Threatened with symptoms of blindness, he had been advised by M. de Freycinet to have recourse to the miraculous spring of Lourdes. His cure was so sudden, so complete, that he ascribed it to the compassionate intervention of the Virgin Mother, and his glowing pages of the story of the Sacred Grotto were his first thank-offering.

His translation of the Gospels was the labour of fifteen years. For twelve it was in type, passing through numberless revisions. The text was restored to the simple and natural sequence of the original narrative, and "done into" French with a charm of style, a clarity, freshness and frankness of intellect which made it a piece of modern literature and a new book even for readers long familiar with the Bible. Save for an unconscious colouring inevitable in a devout Roman Catholic, the preface might have been adopted by the Society as an indictment of Rome's suppression of the Scriptures and her reversal of early Christian practice.

Within a twelvemonth five-and-twenty editions — nearly 100,000 copies—were sold in rapid succession. "It seemed as though Roman Catholic France were eagerly accepting the living Gospel of the Living God." Cardinals, prelates, the clergy, the laity, the press were of one voice in their appreciation of the work. The triumph was crowned by a sumptuous edition illustrated from the great masters. Suddenly, without warning, without explanation, the version was proscribed by the Sacred Congregation; pilloried in the Index of prohibited books; withdrawn from publication. The decree would have been amazing had it not been Roman. Lasserre submitted as a dutiful son of the Church,

[1] Dated 4th December 1886; joyfully received on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

and offered to comply with any conditions that would remove the stigma from his work and name; but even a pilgrimage to Rome failed to obtain him an audience of the Pope. Behind Leo XIII. there was a power which reversed the action and stultified the words of the Vicar of Christ himself.[1] It was a suggestive fact in connection with this remarkable episode that the sale of New Testaments from the depôts of the agency rose in 1887 from 10,000 to 20,000 copies.

In 1889 at "the greatest of all the Exhibitions" the labours of the Society received an unprecedented publicity. The agency stall, emblazoned with the title and date of the Society, was in the English section of the Palace of Liberal Arts. Maps on the walls called attention to the position of depôts and the network of colportage in France. The Scriptures were displayed in 287 languages. In nine large frames specimens of many tongues were grouped round maps of the countries in which they were spoken. The invitation, "Prenez, c'est gratuit," hung over four tables spread with leaflets, catalogues, and Gospels. Nearly 1000 copies were taken away daily; between 3000 and 4000 on Sundays, when the tables were supplied though the stall was not open. Inquiries for the Gospel of St Joseph, St Roch, St Paul, and other patron saints, curiously illustrated Lasserre's Preface.

On the 10th September the *Figaro*, printed on the second platform of the Eiffel Tower, contained a leader describing the Society's show-case, and commenting on the enormous work accomplished in the translation, printing, and circulation of the Scriptures in the course of eighty-five years. The article was received with incredulity. Translations in 296 tongues!—why, there were not so many languages in the

[1] *See* Dr W. Wright's article, "The Power behind the Pope" in the *Contemporary Review*, May 1888. Submissive and even hopeful to the end Lasserre died in July 1900, in his seventy-second year.

world. The editor had been hoaxed. The *Figaro* replied by printing the names of the entire number from *The Gospel in Many Tongues*. As each of these issues published the names of hundreds of people who had that day been on the Tower, they were sent to friends and relatives, and carried far and wide the *Figaro's* testimony to the Bible Society. A *Notice* of the Society and its work was sent out to every pastor in France, to all the theological students and missionaries, to distinguished men in the literary and scientific world. Close upon 600 Bibles, Testaments and Portions in 28 languages were distributed among the foreign exhibitors; and 270,000 Gospels were carried away from the tables.

The year 1890 closed with a brighter prospect than had been seen for a number of years. Among the working classes the rancorous attacks on religion had become rare. Strange wistful notes were struck by the writers who reflected and moulded the culture of their day. "It seems," wrote Jules Lemaître, "as if an *attendrissement de l'âme humaine* were about to take hold of us in this *fin de siècle*, and as if we were destined soon to be witnesses of—who knows?—a revival of the Gospel. Our heart is empty, our soul without ideal or hope. Oh, that at last a Messiah would come down and restore us hope and love!" And while Lemaître wrote, a colporteur, who had read the story of the woman of Samaria to a group of women at a village well, sorrowfully asked the question, "Do you really believe nothing?" "Yes, something," was the half-brusque, half-pathetic reply, "but what that is we cannot tell."

It was not hard to divine the secret trouble, the secret need of the French people; and notwithstanding the fate of Lasserre, there were those among the French clergy who understood both the malady and its cure. Carrière's version of the Gospels was published under the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Bayeux by the Abbé Garnier, who founded a

"Ligue de l'Evangile." "France," he cried, "must return to the Gospel"—to the true spirit of Christianity, which had been set aside by an exclusive "devotion of rosaries, medals, scapulars, Months of Mary and the Sacred Heart, indulgences, songs, processions." The edition was abundantly circulated in the diocese of Bayeux—to the singular embarrassment of the Jesuit organ, *La Croix*.[1]

A disquieting tendency towards decline in the sales by colportage led in 1890 to a careful inquiry into the system. It may be at once mentioned that the primary cause was the decrease in the staff; that the yearly average of distribution per man was vastly higher than in the "record" year 1844 when over 125,000 copies were sold by 110 men; and that happily the decrease in the field was more than balanced by the system of partly subsidised depôts, which, as time went on, was strengthened and brought to greater efficiency. The inquiry was most reassuring. Everywhere, it was found, the men were held in the highest esteem. The possibility of their transference to other districts was deprecated by pastors and laymen as the loss of shining examples. In the case of one man more urgently required elsewhere, a special collection was made in the little local congregation to pay the cost of his removal. The severe economy imposed by four years of deficit (1888-91) called forth the loyalty and self-denial of these excellent men. "I am quite willing," wrote one, "to bear half of my expenses, though this will be but a drop in the ocean." There was loyalty, too, and self-denial of a more exacting kind.

In 1886, when one of the M'All men was the only missionary left in Corsica, Brémond was sent to the island. Alone among a half-savage, fanatical race, sick for home, he prayed to be rescued from this "terrible Corsica," where in the dusk of the evening one might meet a torch-light

[1] In his Encyclical of November 1893 his Holiness exhorted the clergy, not the laity, to the more frequent study of the Scriptures—in the original languages.

procession of children bearing along a great Christ of paper or wood with shrill cries—"Pianchià, pianchià, peccatori, la morta del Signore!" and see on the morrow a woman sprinkle her children with the yet warm blood of her murdered husband: "Your father's blood is upon you; you will some day have to avenge it." A sympathetic letter from the agent put before him the question, Could he conscientiously leave Corsica so soon? and the reply was sent, prompt and penitent: "In my selfishness I forgot the Cross. My gaze—rather, my heart—was turned to France."

So he remained at his post, spreading in the midst of dangers and hardships the Word of God, which was often doomed to the fire; making a good impression on the schoolmasters; coming into contact with notorious bandits; visiting the small hamlets in the mountains, where the houses have no chimneys, the fire burns on the floor of the single room (shared by hens, goats, and pig), and only the school-children speak French. At the fire-side of one *curé*, at the table of another gracious old priest, he explained the purpose of the Society. For some months in 1888 he was transferred to the Gard and Marseilles. "I am not in my element here," he wrote, "I dream of Corsica"; to which he joyfully returned. Fever broke down his health three years later; he was hardly expected to recover; but *le brave* Brémond had still wide fields to sow.[1]

As the first decade of the period ended a sure measure of the effect of the work was afforded by the outcry of its opponents. "It is a fact," complained the *Eclair*, "Protestantism is getting hold of Catholic Brittany—la Bretagne la plus bretonnante, the classic soil of the true faith. . . . It is not wholly converted, but it is on the way to be con-

[1] From 1892 Major Colquhoun laboured in Corsica. The Society granted him a large special discount, and assisted him in founding a depôt at Ajaccio. In a little more than eight years he and his French and Italian colporteurs sold 150 Bibles, 543 Testaments, and 3205 Portions.

verted, with amazing facility." Attacks in the Chamber of Deputies, in the press inflammatory articles, suggestions of a "Saint Barthélemy à recommencer" opened an agitation against the influence of English "Methodists" and English Bible Societies—against the Protestantism of a perfidious nation—against the sinister political schemes which it concealed behind the mask of its paid missionary enterprises. *La Croix* raised again its warning voice against "foreign spies," overrunning the North-West with "English-made Bibles," and taking notes—which let the police see to! The movement widened rapidly, seemed at one time as if it might lead to a rupture between the two countries.

The great Romanist revival of 1895, which in Spain and Italy took the form of missions, processions, rehabilitation of neglected saints, new pilgrimages, developed in France an unscrupulous political activity. The way had been prepared by the Papal injunction that French Catholics should rally to the Republic. The agitation against the Protestantism of England was extended to the Protestantism of France. Controversy raged round the predominance of Protestants in high places of the State, Government offices, great public schools, and other positions, won for the most part in public competition. Madagascar, where the contrast between the weak Catholic minority and the strong Protestant majority inflamed the rage of the Jesuits, furnished them with a party cry: The Protestants are not Frenchmen. The agitators passed it on as they went from town to town; made an axiom of it—a strange one in the mouths of men who took their orders from Rome—"No one can be at the same time a Protestant and a loyal Frenchman."

In 1898 Anti-Semitism and Anti-Protestantism joined hands. Renaud's *Le Péril Protestant* appeared as a corollary to Drumont's *La France Juive*. "There was a new triplice to denounce—Jews, Freemasons and Protestants." In the West the colporteur was driven from the doors, beaten;

"English spy! Enemy of France! Dreyfusard!" In the East he was refused food and shelter; his books were English, German; he was in the pay of the "Syndicat de trahison." Down with the Protestants, French and English alike! On Christmas Eve, under the crucified figure on a village Calvary, the message of goodwill on the lips of a Jesuit missioner was "Down with the Protestants!"

Amid this ferment of suspicion, racial hatred, Jesuit intrigues, the common people were but little affected. "Wherever *salles* were opened for religious services, they were filled with listeners; wherever the mission boat halted, the whole river-side population flocked to the Gospel meetings." Roman Catholicism of the loftier type presented the striking spectacle of clergy and laymen insisting on a return to the Bible as the only hope of a regenerated France; of devout priests seeking in the Divine Word the faith they had lost in the Church. "I go forth," wrote one to his Bishop, "not by the door of scepticism, but because I have found in Jesus Christ my only Saviour and my one Mediator. I am convinced that the pure Gospel can alone save the world, and that the Church of Rome cannot, without committing suicide, give the Gospel to the people." "It is not enough," declared a widely circulated Roman Catholic journal, "to have the *image* of the Crucified; we must know Him and love Him. Our fathers in old times had a deep veneration for the Scriptures; they fed daily upon them. . . . It is so still in England and in other Protestant countries, and that is perhaps the secret of the prosperity of Protestant communities." *Le Chrétien français*, edited by a number of priests who dreamed of "a reformation emerging from the very bosom of Catholicism itself," appeared with the startling sub-title, "Bulletin de la réforme evangélique dans le Catholicisme." Among the *curés* who sacrificed all for conscience sake—and as many as 125, often men of high standing, gave up their positions between 1898 and

1899—was formed a Société française d'Evangélisation par les anciens prêtres.

Meanwhile, in storm or sunshine, the work of the agency went on incessantly. Bicycling, driving, but generally trudging along with their day's supply of books, the colporteurs travelled through the country, from the shores of Lake Leman to the poor huts amid the winter floods of the Marsh of La Vendée. Fanatics refused them food and lodging. Priests burned their books, even forbade the onlookers to warm themselves at the blaze; but here a dinner would be shared for a Bible, or a breakfast given for a New Testament. The Society was anathematised, but its Hebrew version was bought by Roman Catholic seminaries and booksellers.

A Breton version of Genesis, translated by the Rev. A. Llewellyn Jenkins of Morlaix, assisted by MM. Luzel and Rohan and the Rev. W. J. Jones of Quimper, appeared in 1897. The revision of the Breton Psalter was begun, but was indefinitely postponed in 1899 in consequence of clerical troubles. Even in "la Bretagne bretonnante," however, there were priests who accepted the simple Gospel, and left their homes deeply regretted by their people. In the Charentes, too, there sprang up evangelical churches, one of which was founded by a devout Christian who became pastor in the place in which he had been *curé*. Cross into the Corrèze. Here at Madranges a colporteur stays at the inn kept by the sexton. A few neighbours are invited in the evening. A Bible and a Testament are sold; and are read and talked over long after the colporteur has gone. Two years elapse, and a pastor is sent from Brive to a small company of believers at Madranges. They will make any sacrifice to maintain a regular service. Yet another year (1900), and the people come in from all the surrounding villages, and the congregation numbers 600. "The

shepherds take their Bibles and Testaments with them into the fields."

In remote spots the Bibleman still comes upon unknown communities of Protestants, drawn together by a copy of the Scriptures, or, as in the case of the 200 at St Paul Trois Châteaux,[1] descendants of the converts—all passed away—of some old awakening. At La Voulte, in the Ardèche, a little body of twenty-five owes its enlightenment to a De Sacy Testament.

Every effort to obtain a place in the Paris Exhibition of 1900 was refused by the English Commissioners who controlled the British section. But a special edition of 400,000 French Gospels—"Souvenirs de l'Exposition"—was printed, and these, with 30,000 Scripture specimens of four French dialects and thirty-two languages spoken in the French colonies were distributed during the summer to the vast crowds of visitors.

Doyen of the Society's foreign agents, M. Monod had now reached the age of seventy, and completed thirty years of service, during which some 5,400,000 copies of the Word of God had been circulated in France under his direction. He retired in September 1901, and took with him the warm regard of the Committee, the affectionate regret of his colporteurs.[2] A successor was found in M. Lortsch, whose pastoral charges at Beauvoisin, Nimes, and Marseilles, had extended over twenty-one years, and whose election as President of the French Free Church Synod seemed an endorsement of the Committee's choice. A few months later, as we shall see, Belgium became a part of the French Agency.

Untouched by the predatory *décrets*, which assailed Ultramontanism in a spirit too like its own, the agency had its course clearly marked out for it. The number of colporteurs

[1] Legend traces back the ancient Bishopric of St Paul Trois Châteaux to Restitutus, "the man born blind," of John ix.

[2] On the 22nd February 1904 God gave a peaceful close to his long life of Christian activity.

was increased, and a small monthly magazine was issued for their help and encouragement. Four Biblewomen, for house-to-house sales in Lyons, Marseilles, and other towns, were added to the staff, with excellent results. New depôts—till the number reached forty-two—were opened in the sea-ports and promising inland towns. Strange as it may seem, the first anniversary observed by the French Agency was held on 23rd April 1902. M. Lortsch represented the Society at conferences and synods, and in the course of his long tours advocated the principles and objects of the Society in numberless speeches, lectures, and sermons. Here, as in England, the Bible Society was to afford a common platform for French Christians of all denominations. In the closing year of the period—a red-letter year of royal, presidential, and parliamentary visits, manifesting and cementing the friendly relations of England and France—the agency recorded the unprecedented normal circulation of 204,738 copies, and the sales of the colporteurs, of whom there were now 64 in the field (or 54 employed all the year), amounted to 122,922, or only 2600 less than in the record year 1844, when 110 were at work.

A last word of these gallant Biblemen! During the period there disappeared from the pages of the reports the names of twenty men whose aggregate service amounted to five centuries. Seven served from 17 to 20 years; eight (among them Depierre, who was tracked by wolves) from 23 to 25 years; one, Lebel of Havre, who had two sons pastors, for 27 years; one, old Jacquet of the Vosges, who died at Nancy in 1902, for 29; one, Bouillane, for 31; one, Bernata, many times elected Municipal Councillor in spite of the priests, for 39; and one, Laffargue, for 48. Four others survived to the close. Bonnet (30 years' service) was at work in the Gard; Terrier (29 years) in the Doubs. Brémond overtaxed his strength, and was laid aside in October 1903 (26 years). Rendu of Esquéhéries, Aisne, was

the veteran of the veterans — 44 years' service — and could still dispose of 2000 copies in the twelvemonth; had been one of the colporteurs in the Franco-Prussian battlefields, and had been besieged in Metz. Nearly 80,000 copies had passed through his hands; and in the north there were whole villages in which he had supplied every household with the Word of God.[1]

In January 1903 M. Lortsch received from an Ardèche village an invitation penned in the rude alphabet which a herd-lad had taught himself by cutting letters on the rocks from a printed book. He found the writer a solitary old man of eighty-four, who had long ago served as a colporteur under Pressensé. Late in life he had come into several legacies, which he wished to present to the Society. State bonds to the value of £728 were placed in the agent's hands, and were eventually sold at a very favourable rate.

Foremost among the various agencies with which the Society co-operated were — the M'All Mission, which had 54 halls, 31 Evangelists, 10 Biblewomen, and two boats moving along the network of French waterways; the Geneva Evangelical Society,[2] with its 10 stations in country towns and villages, 10 Evangelists, and 78 colporteurs; the Commission d'Evangélisation des Eglises Libres, with its 22 stations and as many evangelists; and the Scottish Bible Society, which employed two colporteurs in the Département du Nord.

During the twenty years 3,797,287 copies of Scripture were circulated through the Paris Agency.[3] Of these, 690,500 or 10.8 per cent. were dispersed at the three Exhibitions, leaving a normal circulation of 3,106,787; and of these last, 61,959 copies (1.7 per cent.) went in grants, and 460,019 (15.1 per cent.) passed to other organisations.

[1] He retired in 1905.

[2] A 25 per cent. discount was first granted in 1889.

[3] Of the French Societies it need only be noted here that in 1900 the Société Biblique de France circulated upwards of 42,000 copies, and the Société Biblique Protestante de Paris between 8000 and 9000.

The number of colporteurs gradually decreased until near the end; still they sold 1,346,300 volumes, or five in the hundred less than in the preceding period. The output of the depôts, which was perhaps the most trustworthy measure of the spread of Bible truth, amounted to 1,238,509 copies—a rise from about 14.9 to 39.8 per cent.

In spite of all hindrances the general *rate* of distribution in the twenty years was 36 per cent. higher than in the preceding thirty.

The total circulation from the beginning exceeded 12,040,000; and from 1838 onwards the colporteurs distributed 5,141,944, exclusive of the work during the Franco-Prussian war.

The twenty years' expenditure in connection with the agency amounted to £140,292; the receipts to £37,245. So far as can be reckoned, the total outlay of the Society in France from 1806 exceeded £630,000, without counting the sums spent in printing French Scriptures from 1822 to 1832, the general expenses of the agency from 1818 to 1833, and the cost of supplying the Scriptures in native versions to the Paris Missionary Society.

The Society printed in all upwards of 15,000,000 copies of French Scriptures (1,807,296 Bibles and 6,485,282 New Testaments and 6,728,716 Portions), plus 51,775 diglot French Testaments and 10,000 Franco-Flemish Portions.

In 1900 the Bible Society of France resolved to circulate the Scriptures by colportage. Later, the splendid efforts of the confederate Evangelical Churches to meet the needs of the Paris Missionary Society in its six vast fields of the heathen suggested the hope that at no very distant future the British and Foreign Bible Society might leave much of its work in France to the united Protestantism of the Republic.[1]

[1] Numerically, French Protestants were still a handful of about 600,000 among 29,000,000 nominally Roman Catholic and over 7,500,000 who made no declaration of religious belief.

CHAPTER XLV

THE NEW ORDER IN GERMANY (I.)

GERMANY was one of the countries in which the Committee looked for the principle of self-help to release some portion of the Society's funds for the benefit of less favoured races. From the beginning the Society had taken the deepest interest in the spiritual welfare of the morning-land of the Reformation. Most of the German Bible Societies had originally been its Auxiliaries. No other country had been more largely befriended from its resources. Between 1830 and 1885 the Society's circulation in Germany—about 13,000,000 copies of the Word of God—amounted to one-third of its entire circulation during the same period in the rest of Europe.

The German societies for their part were not slow to recognise their responsibilities. As far back as 1879, though they were then unequal to the task, they showed their sincere desire to take upon themselves the Bible needs of the Father-land. At the same time (although it need scarcely have been noticed but that probably it was a large factor in the Apocrypha controversy), there was evidence among a number of the clergy of a petty grudge—one of the weeds of patriotism—that the work which was beyond the native agencies should be done by "the English."

Recently the operations of the German societies had shown a steady expansion. Their independent circulation had increased between 1881 and 1885 from 172,600 to 204,600

copies—only 46,000 less than that of the British and Foreign Bible Society itself. The Scottish and American were also in the field. So that the Committee, anxious as they were that no harm should be caused by too suddenly breaking old ties, considered the time ripe for gradually withdrawing their colporteurs from Protestant districts sufficiently cared for by others, and for transferring to the native societies the work of providing their own editions. But beyond the range of the native agencies there were non-German nationalities, the German Army, and a Germany numerically more Papal than Spain.[1] Its mission to these the British and Foreign could not relinquish until local organisation was ready to take its place.

The sub-depôt system was accordingly superseded by that of cash sales; and as the German societies possessed an ample free income, the practice of allowing them to purchase at selling price (considerably below the cost of production) was discontinued, and from 1st April 1886 they were charged full cost in the same manner as the Scottish and American societies.[2] As vacancies occurred in the Protestant areas no new colporteurs were appointed, and the efforts of the lessened staff of the agency were mainly directed to these special sections of the population. The German societies were drawn into closer relations with each other, and proposals for a greater uniformity of issues and selling prices, and for an efficient and systematic service of the Empire, were discussed in conference.

The results of the new policy were the best proof that the abundant sowing of the Word of God had not been fruitless.

[1] Roman Catholics, some 16,000,000; Jews, Poles, Lithuanians, and others over 2,000,000.

[2] Besides the five great societies—the Prussian, the Würtemberg Bible Institute, the Saxon Bible Society, the Nuremberg Bible Association (Bavaria), and the Berg Bible Society at Elberfeld in the Rhine country, there were twenty others, some of them very small. Ecclesiastical organisations, existing solely for Church objects, they were worked almost exclusively through the pastors; but there were also religious book and tract associations which employed numerous colporteurs who sold the Scriptures. With the exception of Berg, the societies had little sympathy with the circulation of the Bible without the Apocrypha, and used but limited numbers of the agency's Bibles; its Testaments they purchased in large quantities.

The missionary spirit was awake in the German societies. Year after year, with a solitary exception, their circulation expanded from 204,000 copies in 1885 to 379,000 in 1894. The agency's editions were so largely superseded by their own that their purchases from the depôts at Cologne, Frankfort, and Berlin dropped from some 60,000 copies to 33,700 in 1889 and to 16,600 in 1894, and never afterwards exceeded 39,000.

On the other hand, while the British and Foreign Bible Society saved largely upon the cost of distribution and upon sales to its German colleagues, its direct circulation in 1894 did not drop 12,000 copies below its average in the first five years of the period. In other words, the effect of the change was to reduce the "English" circulation by 12,000 copies, and to advance the German by 152,000—a net gain of 140,000 volumes of the Word of God dispensed among the people of Germany.

More than that, while the operations of the German societies benefited the Protestant population, the work of the agency passed more and more extensively into unexplored regions of Roman Catholicism and of races speaking other tongues than German. The movement was visible in the larger demand for the Vulgate in German, Polish, and French, and the rise in Italian. In eight years the German Vulgate grew from 18,000 to 42,000 copies, and the Lutheran issues declined 67,000; in six the circulation of Wuyk's Polish Testament rose from 1380 to 6273 copies, while the demand for the Warsaw version, which increased from 3350 to 6050, showed that the requirements of Protestants were not overlooked. Without exception all the Scriptures for Roman Catholics—the only editions that as a rule Roman Catholics would touch—were published, and for the most part put into their hands, by the Society.

The year 1890 was marked by the Bremen Exhibition and another conference of the German Bible Societies. For the

first time the display and sale of the Scriptures at one of the great shows of art and industry was a German enterprise. Between 3000 and 4000 copies—one "copy" a Bible for the blind in sixty-four volumes—were disposed of; 600 copies of *The Gospel in Many Tongues* were voted by the Committee as a token of goodwill, and thousands of people visited the handsome kiosk bearing the familiar legend, "The Word of the Lord endureth for ever."

At the conference a proposal to publish an abridged and expurgated "School Bible" was almost unanimously rejected as opposed to the principles of Bible Societies and the spirit of the Reformation; and the revision of the Luther version—the consummation of the Probebibel of 1883—was announced as completed and ready for the press.

That noble work, the fruit of twenty-six years of labour, in which the names of Delitzsch and Dahlmann, Beyschlag and Tholuck, indicated the breadth of erudition and the glow of piety, was issued from the Canstein Press on the 1st March 1892. Forty years back the diversity of texts, the independent revisions, corrections, and orthographic changes among the Bible Societies was almost a peril to Protestant unity. This equivalent of our Authorised Version was less a revision of an old translation than the establishment of a standard text out of the divers readings already in existence.

The kindly feelings of the Society were reciprocated, and in 1892 the President of the Berg and the committee of Mülhausen Bible Society contributed each £5 towards making good the deficit of the preceding years. With this incident the story of the partial transfer of Bible-work in Germany may close.

Various other happenings are now to be noted.

In 1886 the equivalent of the Penny Testament was published in German, and became extremely popular.

The Gospel of St Matthew and the Sermon on the Mount in Braille — the plates prepared by two blind girls—were

issued in 1889, and 1521 copies of the latter were distributed as a Christmas gift to the sightless. In response to frequent requests for other Portions, Acts, Romans, and chapters xxvi.-xxviii. of St Matthew (the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection) were added in 1893, these plates being also prepared, and the sheets printed, by blind girls; and as the blind are generally too poor to buy, 1916 copies of the chapters were distributed, chiefly through directors of institutes, Protestant and Roman Catholic, to sightless speakers of German in the Fatherland, Switzerland, Austria, and Russia.[1]

The printing of the Scriptures in a variety of languages bulked largely in the work of the agency. Three hundred thousand copies a year was no unusual figure for press issues; once the number exceeded 523,000. From 90,000 to 100,000 copies a year were commonly despatched to London and to other foreign agencies; in 1891 the export was upwards of 221,000.

As time went on, the transaction of affairs became more and more completely centralised in Berlin, and at the end of 1892, its sixty-third year, the Frankfort depôt, once the Society's headquarters for Central Europe, was closed.

Under the new arrangement the number of colporteurs dropped from 50 to 26 or 27. In the preceding period, 1854-84, the expenditure on colportage averaged £3360 per annum; it was reduced without detriment in the five years 1889-93 to an average of £1743. Bright and cheery were the men on this little staff, quick to note analogies, shrewd but kindly in repartee; devout and courageous "went without saying." When certain of them died, the immense concourse at the funeral, in signal contrast with the men's humble position, bore testimony to the influence of Christian character.

[1] A benefactor was needed to give the blind also their Halfpenny Gospels and Penny Testaments. These editions were probably within reach of few, St Matthew and Acts selling at 3s. 6d. each, and Romans at 2s.

Among the pleasant things to remember in their daily life were the founding of a little church through Bible-reading in a village in the Romanist Duchy of Baden; the sight of miners in German Poland sitting on the long summer evenings round a reader in the open air; the happy days in Heligoland—the island then ours though there were but eight English families, the hearty German welcome, the ready chair, the children's Testaments (*Ach, lieber Himmel!*) nearly all worn out, the island bookseller who engaged to keep a stock; the churlish innkeeper in Posen, the arrival of a man selling pictures (a "Marriage at Cana" among them), the reading of the Gospel story of that marriage, and the sale of two Testaments, one to the picture-seller, the other to the innkeeper.

> "But all sorts of things and weather
> Must be taken in together
> To make up a year."

At Ober-Ammergau, the most likely of all places, one would have fancied, to prize the New Testament, colportage was forbidden in 1890, on pain of instant imprisonment at the first copy offered. At Trèves, in the following year, 2500 copies were sold, despite priestly opposition and protest, among the pilgrims who crowded to see the "Holy Coat."[1] In Baden a priest wished the work good-speed; in Posen the mob threatened to burn the Bibleman as well as his Bibles; in Silesia the colporteur was shown a New Testament in which a priest had inscribed over his own signature, "This is the Word of God, its own expounder."

In 1894 the sales by colportage (64,359 copies) reached the highest point since 1885. It was the last year of Mr Watt's agency. While at Lausanne in October he caught a chill

[1] *See* vol. ii. p. 210. The Passion Play (possibly a survival of the "Mysteries" of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) is said to date from 1634, when a pestilence ravaged Ober-Ammergau. The simple wood-carvers of the valley vowed, if they were spared, to commemorate the sufferings of Christ by a scenic representation every ten years.

which developed into a dangerous internal malady. Its progress was too rapid to admit of an operation, and two days later, 17th October, he was dead.

For seven-and-twenty years he had represented the Society in positions requiring an apostolic zeal and exceptional qualities of head and heart. From his appointment in succession to Mr Palmer Davies in 1881, 4,500,000 copies of Scripture had passed through his hands, and the yearly distribution in Germany, native and foreign, had increased from 461,000 to 690,000 copies.

Mr J. Gordon Watt took charge of the agency until the transfer of Mr Michael Morrison from South Russia and the Caucasus. At this point, however, we must pause for another retrospect.

Tragic shadows swept over the German people in the course of these years. At the ripe age of ninety-one "the great Emperor who founded the unity of Germany" died on the 9th March 1888; and after a reign of less than three months his heroic son, Frederick III., also died. A subscription of £25 had appeared under the name of the old Emperor for twenty-one years in the lists of the Society; and the day before his successor's death a notice that his father's annual donation would be continued was received at the Bible House. On his first imperial visit to England in the summer of 1889 a handsome Bible was presented with an address to William II., and in returning thanks a few weeks later the young Kaiser renewed the generous support which had been given by his royal house since 1842.[1]

It was not the only royal grant; and here we may complete the story of the subsidy of £45 which dated from the time when Frederick William IV. of Prussia was still Crown Prince, and of the Society's work among the German troops, towards which it was a contribution. In 1886, when the Army circulation (apart from the wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870)

[1] *See* vol. ii. p. 202.

reached a grand total of 826,516 copies (139,188 Bibles and 687,328 Testaments) Major Westphal retired. He had just entered his eighty-ninth year, and nearly thirty had passed since he succeeded his father-in-law, Mr Elsner. A Bible was prepared by the Committee as a memorial of his service, but the good old soldier answered the last roll-call on the 5th May, the day of the Society's anniversary, and the volume was sent to his widow.[1] His god-son, Captain von Dewitz, who was the next royal commissary, extended the scheme to the Navy; but he died suddenly of heart disease in the following year; and one of the last official acts of the old Emperor William in connection with the Society was the appointment of Colonel Kleffeker to the vacancy.

It had long been felt that a work so completely national should not be dependent on foreign zeal, and in 1888 the Prussian Bible Society undertook to provide for the needs of the Lutheran soldiers.[2] Thus after fifty-seven years, during which 869,725 copies of the Word of God were put into circulation, the Society resigned the greater part of its military charge, and the old subsidy of £45 was discontinued. Quite one-third of the rank and file, however, were Roman Catholics, and the care of these and of the men who spoke other languages than German was still left to the Society, which distributed thenceforth a yearly average of 9000 copies among them. The Army work was now aided by a new royal grant, and from £16 to £20 of this was annually assigned to the Society. At length, in 1896, on the application of the Roman Catholic chief Army chaplain, all official or semi-official distribution among the Romanist soldiers ceased, and only the non-German-speaking troops remained.

[1] Son of a schoolmaster of Demmin in Pomerania, Westphal was a lad of fifteen when the Cossacks harried the flying rabble of Napoleon's Grand Army across the snowy fields of Prussia (vol. i. p. 196). The thrill of those wild riders of the Steppe first sent him soldiering; the teachings of a pious home made him a Bibleman.

[2] The Prussian Bible Society was included in the original scheme of Army distribution (vol. ii. p. 202), but the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards Frederick William IV., took over its responsibilities.

In 1901 Colonel Kleffeker died, and the purchase of 20,000 copies from the agency for the German expedition to China completed this striking episode of seventy years of Bible-work. During that time about 1,250,000 copies were distributed and carried into all parts of the Empire by time-expired men.[1]

On the 7th January 1890 passed away the Empress Augusta, "one of the warmest friends of Christian work, of the Bible Society, and of the suffering poor in the Fatherland." For many a year, and as late as 1888, the colporteurs recorded her gracious patronage. "I daresay you reckon her and myself among your very best customers," said old Kaiser William long ago at Baden-Baden. Suddenly, in April 1891, died the grey paladin Moltke, who had melted his captured guns for village church bells, and had a kindly greeting for the colporteur ("In my house, too, you will find Bibles; no living man ought to be without one; but what do your books cost?"). Lastly, in July 1898, the Iron Chancellor was laid in his grave. He, too, made "the Bible-messenger" welcome, gave him place of honour at his own weekly Bible-meeting—"a brother who knows more about these things than I do." In 1885, when an unknown friend, Dr Lorenz, gymnasial director in Berlin, left the Society £300, with warm and spontaneous references to its aims and operations, Prince Bismarck set aside all technical difficulties, and directed the legacy to be paid.

One by one the veterans of the agency fell out of the ranks. In 1884, in his thirty-ninth year of service, died Philip Gaertner of Wiesbaden, one of Pinkerton's men at Frankfort; perhaps the very first of the Society's colporteurs in Germany, for he began in April 1846, a year before Hermann Lange of Cologne. Died, too, Kilian of Bremen, at the age of eighty-four, after thirty-six years' service. He

[1] Outside this scheme, the Würtemberg Bible Institute, the Saxon Bible Society, the Nuremberg Association and other organisations supplied the contingents of their own countrymen, and many copies were of course sold to the military, Romanist and Lutheran, by the colporteurs of the agency.

was the oldest man on the staff, and, like Major Westphal, remembered the terrible Napoleonic days. And Hermann Jacklen, depositary at Cologne, who joined the Society in 1848, when a lad of fourteen, served thirty-seven years, and, like his friend, Kilian, was a convert from Romanism. Lange, himself, aged eighty-two, and for some time retired, died at Bonn in February 1887. He was Edward Millard's first colporteur on the Rhine, when a Bibleman dared not show his colours at all. The Berg Bible Society laid piles of Government correspondence before Millard to prove that there was no hope of colportage ever being allowed in Prussia; but Lange went out boldly as a *commis-voyageur*, and fared well; came in time to be known as "the Christian organ-grinder," such a gift he had of quoting hymns at any moment, and *à propos* of any occasion. Knabe of Stettin, Kretschmer of West Prussia, and Roescher of Dantzig, all of thirty years' standing, retired in 1887, but still did some little Bible-work "as the sun was going down."[1]

And greater names should be mentioned here:—

Franz Delitzsch, who died 4th March 1890 at the age of seventy-seven. A few hours before his death he read the first proof-sheet of the eleventh edition—the final revision—of his Hebrew New Testament, which had cost him fifty years of patient labour, and of which 50,000 copies had been sold. He was interred in the University Church, Leipzig,[2]—his coffin hidden under wreaths and palm-branches, which bore inscriptions of love and regret in many languages. On his portrait in the Bible House appears the characteristic autograph: Αυτός ἐστιν ἡ εἰρηνη ημῶν!—"He is our peace."

The learned and devout Pfarrer Kayser, who died in the same year, and who for a quarter of a century edited

[1] The settlement of the men's private affairs at death or on retirement showed the great boon conferred by the Employees' Savings Fund. Sums ranging from £100 to £213 were not unfrequently laid by for old age, or the support of families they left behind.

[2] It is strange to think that Tetzel, the seller of indulgences, was buried in the same church.

and read the proofs of most of the editions in European languages published by the agency.

Dr Hegel, who died in November 1891 — son of the illustrious philosopher, and eighth president of the Berlin Bible Society, the issues of which had multiplied sevenfold during the six-and-twenty years he occupied the chair.

In the meantime new methods and the federation of the Swiss Bible Societies had enabled the Committee to withdraw from direct participation in the work of the Alpine Republic. In the early summer of 1885 Mr Watt and the Secretary, Mr Major Paull, visited Switzerland, and laid before the various organisations a scheme for an economical and effective national system. Hitherto, separate depôts had been maintained in the principal towns both by the British and Foreign and by the Swiss Societies; it was now proposed that the depôts of the former should be closed; that the 20 per cent. discount allowed them should be transferred to the societies of the cantons, and that in return the latter should act as representatives of the Parent Society, sell its Scriptures at its catalogue prices, and supply pastors and benevolent institutions with the same liberality as the foreign agencies. These proposals were readily accepted by the Bible and Evangelical organisations; from nine central depôts in as many chief towns[1] the pastor among the mountains might be as cheaply and almost as quickly served as if he were in Berlin; and the Society's colporteurs passed into the service of the Berne and Basel committees.

Only one of the old depôts, or sub-depôts, was retained, that of Berne, which had been long under the care of Madame Petitpierre. The gracious old depositary of Neuchâtel, Mlle. Gruet, was no more. Mr Paull and Mr Watt had called upon her during their tour, and were told she was dying, but she wished to see them. She spoke, with painful utter-

[1] Basel, Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Schaffhausen, Neuchâtel, St Gall, Zürich, and Lucerne.

Michael A. Morrison.

ance, of the joy it had been to serve her beloved Society, of her perfect rest in Christ. A few days later, 30th June 1886, her gentle spirit was released. From the depôt she opened in her modest home in 1845, she had circulated 140,000 copies of the Word of God.

At a conference of the societies at Baden in Aargau in May 1887, a Swiss Colportage Union was formed, with an executive at Basel and a depôt at Lucerne, to include all kinds of helpers and especially to take up work beyond the unaided efforts of any of the cantonal societies. The British and Foreign was assigned a vote in recognition of its co-operation in supplying the Scriptures; and on the following day at a Mission Conference the whole assembly rose as a mark of national gratitude for its Bible-work in Switzerland. To the majority it was a revelation that their country now cost the Society anything; and Mr Watt's observation, that the Committee would rather see the £1200 or £1500 it still spent on Switzerland used to provide the Swiss missionary with the versions of heathen lands, was warmly approved by those who had laboured in Africa.

In 1889 Madame Petitpierre felt that her charge might well be resigned, and the last of the old sub-depôts was closed. To the Committee, however, the rate of progress fell far short of expectation; and though the chief cause was ascribed to the spread of rationalism among the clergy, it seemed possible to retrieve the position by more vigorous distribution. Once more (in 1891) Mr Paull and Mr Watt visited Switzerland. Of the nine leading societies all but that of Geneva accepted the new terms proposed to them—viz. that the societies should be supplied with Scriptures, carriage paid, at about half the cost of production, on condition that they should in turn supply, post free, orders to the value of 8 francs, and allow in addition 20 per cent. discount on orders to the value of 20 francs. The depôt at Lucerne was discontinued by the Colportage Union, and the

saving of £172 applied to colportage, which the Society also aided by an allowance of 50 per cent. on all copies sold.

This was the turning of a new page. With Berne and Neuchâtel pressing hard upon Basel and Lausanne, the circulation rose almost steadily from 327,000 in the six years ending with 1890 to 404,000 in the next six years, and to about 500,000 in the six following. The figures in 1890 were equivalent to a distribution of 16.43 copies in every 1000 of a population, two-thirds Romanist, as against 13.75 per 1000 in Germany, with a population two-thirds Protestant.[1] The proportion rose to 21.8 in 1892, to 25 in 1895, and to 28 in 1899, and though this rate was not maintained, it never fell as low as 18 per 1000.

The Society provided the great bulk of the Scriptures distributed—1,119,754 in a total of about 1,300,000, but there was no restriction in this respect. The French versions of Segond, Darby, Mackenzie,[2] and others were in circulation; the Basel Society issued the "Basel Bible," and a new edition of Zwingli's was published by the Zürich Society.

The Geneva Bible Society, which appears to have preferred the alternative terms prevailing in Germany, of purchase at cost price without discount, contributed £20 towards relieving the Society's deficits in the earlier nineties; and in 1894 the Basel Committee raised the question whether, in view of all that the British and Foreign Bible Society had done for Switzerland, and of its far-reaching obligations in heathen countries, it was not now their duty to renounce the high discount allowed, and to take upon themselves the whole expense of their own Bible circulation.

It remains but to note that up to 1901 (when the separate record ceased) £497 was sent to the Bible House in donations

[1] In Bavaria, with a population also two-thirds Romanist, the rate in the same year was 4 per 1000.

[2] John Nelson Darby (1800-82) was one of the founders of the Plymouth Brethren. The "Mackenzie Bible" was named after the compiler of an elaborate system of references published with Ostervald's text

and subscriptions from Switzerland—by far the larger part through Mr C. Stolz of St Gall, an old friend who had taken part in the work of Indian translation. Also that in 1891 and 1900 some thousands of Bibles and Testaments in Romansch were distributed gratis in the Upper and Lower Engadine among the poor inhabitants, who were isolated by the deep snow in winter, and deprived of their Sabbath privileges in summer by the rush of tourists.

We return to the centre of affairs.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE NEW ORDER IN GERMANY (II.)

On the publication of the Revised Luther version copyright was abandoned, and the Würtemberg Bible Institute and the Berg and Prussian Bible Societies issued their own editions. One of Mr Watt's last undertakings was an edition for the British and Foreign; the Committee's acceptance of a printing tender reached him while he was dying. Mr Morrison took up the work on his installation in the summer of 1895; the standard text was soon available in various sizes, and the superior value and beauty of the books of the agency led to an increased demand from the German societies and the Berlin booksellers. In curious contrast with the slow surrender in this country to our own Revised Version was the prompt and very general acceptance of the Revised Luther; but even into the new century there remained a section rooted against all change. A pamphlet published by their leaders declared that heaven was not so far from earth as many passages in the revised text were from the translation in which Luther "was inspired by the Holy Ghost"; and at a conference in 1901 it was determined to burn all the revised German Bibles on which they could lay their hands.

An amazing state of mind!—yet hardly less intelligible or more inconsistent with the spirit of the Reformation than the attitude of many of the Lutheran clergy in regard to the Apocrypha. Their objection to its absence, inherited from a

bygone generation, ran like a red thread through the reports of the Society's men, who often found the Protestant pastor as effective a hindrance as the Roman Catholic priest. Their unfriendliness was encountered in all parts of the Empire.[1] The Society's Bibles were banished from the schools of Mecklenburg; the Saxon Bible Society denounced them as a danger to the National Church; in Baden the children were forbidden to buy from the colporteur; in Posen they were given no peace till they brought a "complete Bible" to school; in Silesia they were beaten because their books did not contain the Apocrypha; in East Prussia the bitterness of ministers and teachers was "more than Papal." This opposition did not spring from the people; it was "the work of pastors, Christian ministers of Protestant congregations." In 1888 the Würtemberg Bible Institute decided to publish the Bible without, as well as with, the deutero-canonical books, but it was a singular fact that the German societies spent more upon the inclusion of these books than upon the circulation of the New Testament as a separate volume. One might have imagined it a question between the Church of the Apocrypha and the Church of Christ.

It was another perplexing sign of the times that there should be pastors who, while they insisted on the Apocrypha, could yet ask "Who needs the Bible nowadays?"; pastors who thought the Bible beyond the understanding of the common people; pastors who declared it wrong to offer Roman Catholics a book which their Church had forbidden to laymen; pastors who dreaded the Bible falling into the hands of children, lest it should poison their minds, and who had to a considerable extent overborne the decision of the conference of 1890 against an expurgated "School

[1] The opposition to "incomplete Bibles" covered various prejudices — the prejudice against the Society because it was British and not German; a jealous preference for some other society ("If the people want books," one pastor told a colporteur, "I am the bookseller," and slammed the door in his face); a suspicion among the clergy that the colporteur would hold prayer meetings with their people.

Bible."[1] In North Germany the "Bremen Bible"—such extracts as the Church in Bremen deemed suitable for the young—was so largely used that the sales of the Canstein Institute dropped 10,000 copies; in Prussia there was a strong party in favour of a "select Bible"; and in 1901 the Würtemberg Society issued its "Bible Reading Book."

Add to this cheerless outlook the stormy shadows of Socialism and the rancour of the Ultramontanes. Probably half the working men in the Empire were on the rolls of the Social Democrats, an organisation in avowed opposition to Christianity. What with the Bible-fires, priestly anathemas, and the inflammatory warnings of a lying press, a colporteur in cultured Germany might have thought himself in some benighted corner of Spain or Bolivia. Too sure of his ground to burn like the priest, the Socialist took for his weapons contempt, ridicule, and blasphemous scurrility.

Almost from the outset Mr Morrison found himself understaffed. The agency needed at least thirty men, with from four to five probationers. Given thirty, the ground might be covered and revisited in five years. Yet splendid work was accomplished with twenty-six or twenty-seven. In 1896 the expenditure, which had been nearly one-tenth of the Society's free income fifteen years back, was reduced $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At the end of 1900 the yearly circulation of the agency was the highest ever reached; its direct circulation in Germany was the highest; the combined circulation of all societies, native and foreign, was the highest. This aggregate distribution was equivalent to 18 copies among every 1000 of the population. The work among Roman Catholics had been more than doubled since 1885; the work among the Poles and Italians more than quadrupled; and the numerical loss of

[1] It is well to recall the ground for the decision of that conference, viz., that the proposal was "opposed to the spirit and principles of the Bible Societies, and involved a serious danger to the Church of Christ in accustoming the people to the use of the Word of God in an imperfect or mutilated form . . . and that it would be a departure from the principles of the Reformation to give the people anything less than the whole Bible."

circulation caused by withdrawal from Protestant districts all but made up in districts infinitely more difficult to work and otherwise practically uncared for.

Here is a *camera-obscura* impression of the eighteen districts of the agency, and of the Biblemen as they trudged steadily from house to house in the hamlets and farmlands, or knocked from door to door in the huge tenements of the factory towns. The figures show the rise in circulation from 1893-4 and the total distribution in the last ten years of the period.

Berlin (22,000 to 53,000 copies: total 356,543). Depôt work only. The Society's supplies go chiefly to the flourishing book-trade, to various Christian associations, and to the colporteurs of the Scottish Society employed in the populous capital. In 1896 there are vivacious scenes among the foreigners in the wretched slums of the great city. A number of Italian Scriptures have been damaged, and a depôt-assistant seeks out the dark-eyed organ-grinders and makers and sellers of plaster images. Lively gestures eke out ignorance of the language; the names of the streets in Florence, Rome, and Naples, where the Society has depôts, are recognised; hands are eagerly held out for the *Santo Vangelo*, and casts of Apollo, the Kaiser, and the Milo Venus are offered in friendly return.

The Mark of Brandenburg (3216 to 5967: total 46,865). Outside Berlin, the agency has one man in the Mark, but he has little comfort in the pastors, who look askance at "incomplete Bibles."

Saxony (35,946 to 60,521: total 413,617). No colportage. The bulk of "our books" are consigned to Leipzig, the famous centre of the German book-trade ever since the Middle Ages. Probably not a third of them will remain in the Kingdom; the rest will be scattered far and wide over the Empire, and exported to the United States and South America. So beautiful and so excellent in quality are these "English" Scriptures!

The Duchies of Mecklenburg (983 to 3225: total 16,789). The colporteurs of the agency all withdrawn. Save for some parts of Würtemberg, these Duchies seem better supplied than any province in Germany.

Pomerania (5,710 to 7003: total 53,477). Nor is the Society's help needed here.

West Prussia (7281 to 9,965: total 84,917). Almost wholly an agricultural province; the poor peasants constantly flitting from place to place for a living. Lutheran pastors unfriendly; the priests incendiary; people whose books have been destroyed are in red rage against the colporteur. For all that, Wuyk's version is ordered for Roman Catholic theological seminaries. For all that, too, Czudnochowski thinks the people are always willing to listen to the Word of God. Czudnochowski, the Pole, is stationed at Thorn on the Russian frontier; with Grau at Dantzic, the united sales come to 7000 a year. It is at some *auto da fé* near Dantzic that the priest notices how slowly the Bible burns, and bids those present notice it; clearly "a book that has been bewitched."

East Prussia (11,015 to 21,756: total 149,742). One of the most backward of the provinces; stricken with poverty (3d. for a day's tree-felling); stricken with the curse of drink. There is a strong Protestant element—whole villages of deeply pious Lutheran men and women. Here, too, the priests have immense power, but numbers of Poles persist in keeping their books. In 1897 Lau retires after thirty-three years' service in these parts. There is hardly a village even among the black bogs or the sandy frontier districts of the basket-platters which he has not visited again and again.

Posen Province (6696 to 10,016: total 97,260). Mostly Polish and Roman Catholic; nearly 58,000 Jews. The priests nowhere more imperious. It is the New Year, and here comes his reverence with his aspergill to sprinkle the

house with holy water. He looks into the books; those he mislikes are confiscated or burned. Even the Wuyk version, "the one translation they could sanction, the priests told us," is now "a bad book." The people nowhere more ignorant and fanatical. A passage in the Gospels tells how St Peter denied our Lord, the volume is burned, and the news spreads like wild-fire that Pehl sells books which slander St Peter. The newspapers announce his movements. He is refused lodgings for the night, threatened with knives and sticks, stoned, hunted like a wild beast. Still he circulates his 6000 and upwards.

Silesia (27,795 to 32,737 : total 287,273). Three-quarters German; Lutheran in the north-west, Romanist in the south-east; Slavs, Poles, Wends, Czechs, Moravians. Breadths of fields and gardens, glorious forests and hills, rich stores of iron and coal. Three colporteurs. Here, too, the papers announce their movements, and zealous priests send round warning bicyclists. "Lutheran pastors here, as a rule, are friendly," says Jendruy of Oppeln. "Very much otherwise," says old Hermann of Liegnitz. Hänsh of Breslau—his troubles are the mountains and the Social Democrats, who hate God's Word even to the buffeting of Biblemen. Of Pliska's 6300 copies 6000 are sold to Roman Catholics. In his case one priest burns, another buys. The Steam Tramway Company in the mining district lets him travel at half fare. The Poles are ignorant and superstitious, but they listen bareheaded as he reads to them. Pliska is highly incensed that the Cardinal Prince-Bishop of Breslau, in his warning rescript, classes a Bible-messenger with other suspicious persons, "such as hawkers of wonder-working crucifixes and holy pictures." It was Pliska who noticed a text carved over the entrance of a Romish Church, found the verse in his Bible, showed it to the crowd outside to prove that his books were genuine, and sold twenty-two Testaments while the Bishop was

engaged inside with a confirmation. Pliska, too, who returned wearily along a country road after a fruitless day. Suddenly a sound of singing rose in the summer evening, and as he drew near, he saw it was a troop of merry girls haymaking. He handed to each a Testament, and read aloud from his own while they followed his reading attentively. Every one of them kept her book, and he went on his way with a lighter satchel and a thankful heart. In 1900 the aged Hermann retires after twenty-three years' work. In 1903 Hänsh completes his quarter of a century and retires too.

Thuringia and the Saxon Duchies (11,029 to 31,253: total 141,964). Almost wholly Protestant; no colporteurs.

Bavaria (20,874 to 25,709: total 200,657). A land of romantic names, of grim and of splendid historic associations. Population, over 4,500,000; 4,000,000 Romanist. Five colporteurs. To Bavarians all other Germans are Prussians, foreigners, interlopers; wherefore suitable colporteurs are rare as black swans. Until 1890 Roman Catholicism a religion solely, not a political system; Government broad and independent. 1891, Ultramontane reaction; Old Catholics deprived of privileges, reduced to a mere sect; anti-Biblical agitation.

The circulation falls from over 20,000 to 14,000. His Grace of Munich fulminates in pastoral letterpress; his village priests denounce from the altar. Johann Christ, our twenty-eight years' veteran, is thankful for a night's cover in barn or outhouse in this Munich region. "I am the Bible," cries his reverence; "what I say from the pulpit, that is God's Word;" still dozens of his parishioners refuse to surrender their Scriptures to the flames. Bachinger compares the harshness of Lutheran pastors with the kindness of several priests, one of whom, indeed, has nothing but praise for the Society. In South Bavaria Socialism is a force to be reckoned with. At Ober-Ammergau in 1900 we

come again upon the Passion Play; the colporteur is still forbidden to sell the Gospel story of the Passion. In the Franconian villages among the hills round Nuremberg the friendly peasants are oddly curious as to whom Cain married; they will inquire about something more to the purpose later. The Scriptures are well known in the town of Mering, thanks to the Bible-work of a former priest who rejected Infallibility. He was excommunicated; his flock submitted, but still clung to their Bibles. From 1899 the circulation rises. But for the Society the Word of God would be inaccessible. The booksellers ask 10s. for a Bible, and even then require you to show a permit from the priest.

Würtemberg and the Duchy of Hohenzollern (5669 to 9649: total 53,882). A third of the population Roman Catholic; one colporteur; little recorded. In one deeply ignorant district a priest sanctions the sale of the Scriptures. He is the solitary exception. Hohenzollern, the early home of the great family which rules the destinies of the Empire, is wholly Papal. One priest sends out a whole school of a hundred children to bring Kunzelmann to judgment; but in Bible matters the humble colporteur is more than a match for his judge, who breaks out into fury. Another tells him his books should be burned, but the good folk among the hill pines are kind to him, and like his reading. Was there not once some so-called "Hohenzollern Bible" in these parts?[1] The tax on colportage is remitted in 1902, which frees the Society now throughout Germany.

The Grand Duchy of Baden (9917 to 12,859: total 141,029). Nearly two-thirds Roman Catholic. Two colporteurs. The circulation rises from 9900 to upwards of 19,000 in 1897 and 1898, then falls unaccountably to 12,800. Stein works in the picturesque south country. In the beautiful old city of Constance, the place of John Huss's burning, the Ultra-

[1] *See* vol. iv. pp. 84-85.

montane journal blows its intolerant, old-world horn, but does not prevent the sale of 600 copies; and three children bring Stein their collecting-boxes to be emptied. Quietly he goes on his way, "God leading me to souls who receive me for His name's sake." With his 60 lb. bag on his back, he tramps among the steep wooded hills and calls at the old timber houses that lie a mile apart in the glades of the Black Forest. School children stop him to buy their Kistemakers. In spite of press and altar, he sells 200 volumes in the small forest town of Villingen; and even in Lutheran villages he finds there is ample need for his service.

The Rhine Palatinate and the Hesse Principalities (10,732 to 27,783: total 164,428). Occasional colportage.

Hanover, Brunswick, Bremen, and Oldenburg (12,623 to 19,414: total 148,388). Occasional colportage.

Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia (22,222 to 51,005: total 394,084). Feudal keeps on the vine-trellised hills of the Rhine, old pictorial cities of song and legend, hard pressed by a modern "Black Country"—factories, pits, Krupp foundries, swarming with miners and steel-workers from all parts of Germany, from Poland, Austria, Hungary, Italy, Bohemia; two-thirds of them Roman Catholic. A ferment of faith and infidelity, of superstition and Socialism; the busiest district in the agency; five, six, and seven colporteurs. Press attacks begin as "a new thing" in these provinces in 1897, warnings against "books suspiciously cheap," "editions bearing, it is true, the approbation of Catholic ecclesiastics, but teeming with error; so edited as to be a danger to the faithful."

Gueldres is a nest of Social Democrats; about Düsseldorf the very school children cry out, "There is no God; the priests are swindlers"; and the women seem sometimes more godless than the men. Twice, as the seventh year comes round, the Word of God is offered among the pilgrims who come in their tens of thousands to venerate

the marvellous relics enshrined in gold and gems in the ancient cathedral of Aix—the cotton robe which the Virgin Mary wore at the Nativity, the Babe's swaddling clothes, the cloth in which the Baptist's severed head was wrapped, the loin-cloth of our Lord as He hung upon the cross. Humbly devout are the peasants in the Charlemagne country. The rosary is in their hands as they go to the fields and as they return. The priest bids them burn the books, and their Scriptures vanish in flame. In a suburb of Cologne even, 60 Bibles and Testaments make a notable bonfire for a zealous ecclesiastic. Still the Biblemen dispose yearly of their 3000, 4000, and 5000 copies.

The veteran Henschel of Trèves (twenty-seven years) and Bahr sell largely among soldiers (634 copies to the recruits of one regiment in the Saarbrück or Saarlouis district); are welcomed by the garrisons along the Rhine and the Moselle valley, and note among officers and men a higher ideal than prevailed twenty-five years ago.

Alsace-Lorraine (7360 to 17,371: total 126,062). Two colporteurs in this Reichsland or Province Imperial—Albert Riette, a bright-eyed young Alsatian, and Daniel Nussbaum, whose eyes have grown dimmer and dimmer, till now, after nineteen years on the staff, he is quite blind. Sometimes his wife, sometimes his little son, leads him about Metz or Strasburg. When unbelievers scoff, he asks his wife to read this or that passage in reply. An invincible cheery man! Through four years of darkness he works on; in 1899 his sales, 6326 copies, are the highest in the whole agency; in 1900 he reaches 6427, and then retires, but continues Bible-selling on his own account. Riette has travelled over all the region of the Prussian invasion, and has seen among peaceful villages and waving corn the numerous monuments and crosses that mark the spot where one or two, a dozen or fifty, a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and even three thousand fell in the August days

of 1870. He sells almost equally to French and to German Roman Catholics. Here he seeks till midnight for a shelter, there he has a friendly and eager reception. One priest would gladly see a Bible in every house; others burn his books and would as gladly hunt him out of the country.

Sleswick-Holstein, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Heligoland (8158 to 25,063: total 167,509). One of the few mainly Protestant districts in which "our work" is still indispensable. In the summer you will notice an old man at the coast watering-places and fisher villages, or among the kindly folk in Heligoland and the western isles. It is Kühl, who is also well known to the primitive uplanders among their flocks and their fields of oats and rye. He comes in contact too with the fair blue-eyed people on the Danish border, and they understand his Bible, if not always himself. Zengel, a colleague as long in the service, is at Hamburg, the old Hanse town, the city of fabulous wealth, corruption, and squalid poverty. Its harbour is full of ships from every quarter of the globe. On its quays, in its streets, you meet reckless Socialists, wild sailor-men, swarms of Germans and Russians, Poles and Roumans, Liths and Serbs, Magyars, Croats, Ruthenes, Slovenes, Jews, all looking westward for better homes.

Twenty-seven years of labour finished, Kühl retires to his little farm. His memory will long be kept green by the islanders and the shepherds on the grassy hillsides. Zengel remains to the end; and once more we meet at Bremen the good Pliska from Silesia.

So through the *camera obscura* of things recorded, noiselessly surge the stir and colour of the great agency.

In 1902-3 the combined circulation of all the Bible Societies reached, for the first time, 1,000,000 copies in the twelvemonth—a splendid result to mark the agent's twenty-fifth year of service. The aggregate of the whole period of twenty years was fourteen and a half million copies

(14,499,189). Of this vast quantity of Scriptures the German societies distributed 7,621,300. The direct work of the British and Foreign Society, in fields scarcely otherwise touched, was represented by 5,117,092 copies. That figure was the answer to those who regarded the Society's continued presence in Germany superfluous or even meddlesome.

It remains to notice some unclassed details.

On 1st June 1897 the historic depôt of Cologne was closed.

As the German societies expanded, ordinary gratis distribution was more largely left to their consideration ; but the Committee were ever ready to assist the poor and to co-operate with benevolent organisations. In 1896 2449 copies of chapters i.-ii. of St Luke, embossed in Braille, were distributed as another Christmas gift among the German-reading blind in Austria, Switzerland, Russia, and the Fatherland. After the ruinous floods of 1897 in Silesia and Brandenburg 2000 Testaments and Portions were given away among the sufferers. At Hamburg and Bremen in 1902, when nearly 270,000 emigrants left German ports, 3000 Gospels were placed in the hands of the poor people who looked for happier times in the World that bore the magical name of New.

On the other hand, there were a few friends whose appreciation of the Society's work took a tangible form. Including the Imperial donations and an annual remembrance of £25 from the excellent Ladies' Auxiliary at Hamburg, the free contributions from the agency amounted to £2115, 13s., to which must be added £4960, 15s., bequeathed in 1887 by Baron von Kill Mar, and paid over in 1900 on the death of his stepdaughter the Baroness Ida von Blücher.

Printing operations were continued on even a vaster scale. Upwards of 576,000 copies of Scripture left the press in 1900, and a total of 2,851,000 between 1897 and 1902. A special edition of the Lithuanian Bible was published in 1898 for a

Protestant population near the Russian border, which clung tenaciously to the language of its race and to the ancient Gothic character long since supplanted on German soil. In the same year was issued the complete Bible of Wuyk, the charm of whose pure and classic Polish was prized by the Church of Rome until circulation among the people made it "a bad book." The revised Judæo-Polish New Testament, as we have seen, appeared in the Austrian Agency in 1882-3, and the Psalms followed in 1887. Ten years later the production of a New Testament which should be intelligible to all Jews speaking Yiddish dialects formed the subject of much correspondence, and a revision of Hershon's text which should blend the three main dialects—Galician, Bessarabian, and Lithuanian—was intrusted to three native scholars. One died, but the work was finished in 1901. In the following year an edition of 100,000 was printed (75,000 for the Mildmay Mission to the Jews); the version was pronounced excellent, and a scrupulous revision was begun, to remove a few blemishes and faulty renderings.[1]

In 1901 appeared a German Pocket-Bible—the first of its kind—in which clearness and compactness were secured by the use of Latin type, and specially bound copies were graciously accepted by the Emperor and Empress. Four and a half centuries back the Archbishop-Elector of Mayence paid £140 for a copy of Gutenberg's first printed edition of the Latin Bible; to-day the poor vine-dresser on the banks of the Rhine could afford to buy a German Bible not unworthy of presentation to the Kaiser.

The Society's circulation during the twenty years in the whole of the German Agency (Switzerland included) was 6,952,800 copies, which raised the aggregate from the beginning at Frankfort in 1830 to 19,014,994.

The receipts of the period amounted to £225,363, the

[1] *See* chap. xlviii. p. 342 for another Yiddish version in progress in the Austrian Agency.

expenditure to £429,481. Of this last amount £38,556 was absorbed in colportage, and the cost of printing the Scriptures, up to 1903, was £271,798.

On the 1st January 1903 the united German and Austrian Agencies became under Mr Morrison the Central European Agency.

CHAPTER XLVII

UNDER THE TIARA. (I.) ITALY

We shall now pass in succession to the countries under the spiritual dominion of the Pope.

Italy we left on the eve of the great National Exhibition of Turin.[1] In conjunction with the Italian Evangelical Publication Society and the Young Men's Christian Association of Turin, the agency made arrangements for a large circulation of the Scriptures. For a week or two the colporteurs met with great success; but the priests were speedily on the scene, and the work and the men were attacked in a number of scurrilous pamphlets scattered broadcast. Then in August came cholera with the Piedmontese workmen who had fled from the smitten districts of Toulon and Marseilles. The splendid show was almost abandoned for a time, but in spite of all hindrances 850 Bibles and Testaments and nearly 15,000 Portions were sold; and apart from these efforts 20,000 Gospels were given away at the railway station among departing visitors by the Baptist Church of Turin.

In September cholera was raging from Genoa to Naples and Palermo. The people in the South were thrown into a state of wild panic and abject superstition. Between Foggia and Cerignola, wrote Colporteur Cocca, a waggoner overtook on the road a beautiful woman, all clothed in white, who begged him to let her rest in his waggon. In a little while, to his horror, she turned quite black, and in answer to his

[1] April to November 1884.

scared questioning, "I am the Plague," she said; "I have been in Barletta and have slain many. I am going round the province now. At Torre Maggiore I have killed two priests. But Foggia I cannot enter; Our Lady of Sorrows (Madonna Addolorata) is too powerful for me, and has shut me out." The story was confidently believed in Foggia, and every evening the church was filled with people who crowded to the miraculous image, presented centuries ago by Count Roger the Norman. At Naples, where 15,000 people were stricken down, relics and images were carried in procession through the streets, and the churches were thronged till the Government interposed on the ground of public danger. Bible-work was stopped by cordons and quarantines. Every little town and village in the southern provinces barred its gates against the rest of the world.

But the distribution of the Scriptures, either by sale or free gift among the afflicted, was attended by a special danger. Whether it was one of those frantic suspicions which spring up in crises of fright, or a rumour spread by some evil agency, it was believed in various parts of the country that the cholera was "a measure of the Government for thinning the population of crowded centres;" and stealthy fingers pointed to the Biblemen as their hired emissaries. In the neighbourhood of Palermo one colporteur was accused of "sowing cholera." Near Turin two others were told that a priest had been through the village warning every one against two men who, under pretence of selling little books, were "throwing cholera into the wells."

This was, happily, but one aspect of Italian life. On the other hand, there were incidents which gave assurance of enlightenment, and of a growing appreciation of the Word of God. "I propose the Gospel to you as a school-book," wrote his Majesty's Inspector of Schools to the teachers of Catania Province in 1886. "I leave, and I beg you to leave, rites and formulas of worship to the ministers of religion;

to you I commit a task of impressing on your pupils the sublime principles of the charity and religion of Christ. . . . An educator cannot neglect Christ and His simple and sublime ideal." More widely published, and more lofty in tone, was the utterance of Signor Bonghi, one of the foremost members of the Italian Parliament, in an important debate on education: "Signor Gallo, I know, would say, 'Banish the Bible and the priests from every institution connected with the State.' But if the Bible is so sure a means of corrupting the mind, if its influence is so certain to debase, how comes it that in Germany and in England, where it is most read, the character of the people is most highly developed, most stable, most robust? If theology fetters the mind and cramps the faculties, how is it that in Germany and England, where theological studies are in the forefront, the intellect ranges over vast fields of knowledge of all kinds? . . . For myself—and I speak from the effects which I see the Bible produce on those who heed it—I do not hesitate to say that it is a book which is at least calculated to inspire men with an enthusiastic love of their country. Why is it then a book read least in the Catholic Church, compared with the other Churches of Christendom? . . . We can scarcely persuade our people to learn to read. If it were brought home to them that the faculty of reading would put them in communication with the Word and mind of God, I firmly believe there would be such a desire for education as no laws of ours can evoke."

A larger vision might well have insisted on the Bible as the impregnable rock of national freedom. For, some months later, in the early summer of 1887, the destinies of Italy seemed trembling in the balances of a political compromise. The air was full of rumours of "a conciliation" between the Vatican and the Italian Government. An overture, chiefly advocated, strange to say, by one of Garibaldi's generals, was eagerly welcomed by the Pope; this side vied

with that in advances and concessions; "even Massowa was forgotten" in the excitement of the *rapprochement*. Then from Florence rang out the "Impossible!" of the aged Gavazzi, and on all sides were re-echoed the inflexible conditions, "Not one inch of Italian territory; not the smallest of our liberties." But already the mere proposal of a conciliation had rekindled ecclesiastical intolerance and the lust of civil power, and the priests made it clear what a compromise meant to them. The facilities for Bible-work among the troops were withdrawn. Everywhere the colporteurs were met with more violent opposition. In Sardinia the Sindaco of Busachi arrested Mr Thomas for selling prohibited books. His English passport was useless; his letters to the higher authorities were intercepted, and for six days he was confined in an unwholesome cell without even a mattress to lie upon. On the Adriatic coast two priests attacked Cocca in his room at the inn, reviled him, ordered him to quit the district if he valued his life, and tearing open his valise destroyed some of his books. The rights of religious liberty were promptly vindicated. The Premier himself ordered Mr Thomas's immediate release, and the Syndic was deposed and prosecuted by the Government. At Monte Gargano the Syndic and Chief of Police took action, and the assailants were fined and sentenced to a month's imprisonment.

Italy was spared a return to Papal bondage and the bloodshed of a second "resurrection." The scheme of conciliation failed. The gulf between the Vatican and the Government yawned wider than ever. The political reaction was so embittered that the Duca Torlonia was dismissed from his post as Syndic of Rome for congratulating Pope Leo on the jubilee of his ordination. In the splendid celebration of that event the Eternal City was thronged in January 1888 with foreign pilgrims, prelates, princes of the Church, whose voices were raised with the Sovereign

Pontiff's in his claim to that irresponsible dominion, of the abuses of which many of them knew little and most were prepared to believe less.

But 1888 was remarkable for more than its Papal jubilee. Guided by the trend of popular interest, Signor Sonzogno, editor of the liberal and by no means religious *Secolo* of Milan, began in July the publication of Martini's Italian Bible, with Cassells' illustrations, in halfpenny weekly parts. Some 17,500 copies were printed, and found in every town a place with the papers on bookstalls and at the tobacconists'. Other Milan publishers, the Jewish firm of Trèves, followed with 20,000 copies of Father Curci's New Testament, issued in parts somewhat dearer, with Doré's well-known engravings. Finally, in Rome itself appeared a *Vita di Gesù*, by Signor Bonghi, perhaps the foremost Greek scholar in Italy.

In the following year—twice indeed in the twelvemonth—the great review, *La Nuova Antologia*, contained articles on the vast missionary and linguistic enterprises of the Society, by Signor Teza, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Padua. Lecturing before the Accademia della Crusca, of which he was also a member, the professor ascribed to the Bible the splendour, the variety, the lofty morality of the literatures of England and Germany. But for religious intolerance in the past and religious antagonism in the present, Diodati's version might have been, and might be, to Italy what Luther's translation and the Authorised Version were to the German and the Englishman.

To the Church these publications were as hateful as "the corrupted books" of the Society itself, but the law had already curtailed her powers for mischief, and in January 1890 a more stringent code was directed against the ministers of any Church who abused their sacred office for the disturbance of public or private peace.

Men like Bonghi and Teza were, to Italy's misfortune, exceptional. Many of the more eminent, hopelessly or

scornfully indifferent, held aloof from all forms of creed. Some looked to Science and Liberty for the religion of the future. Others, like a distinguished Minister of Education, echoed the mournful words of the Breton peasant woman—"We are hungry to believe, but what to believe we know not!" And all the time infidelity was falling like a blight on the radiant promise of the young. "Everywhere, and more now than ever," said the *Nuova Antologia*, "religion is an important factor in education; but we, imitating the worst things in France, have everywhere been hunting down religion. We have not a school left in which religion is taught; we have many in which it is denied."

Suddenly in 1891 the *Vita di Gesù* was pilloried in the Index of forbidden books. Except perhaps that the author quoted from the "heretical" version of Diodati, this censure was as inscrutable as the condemnation of Lasserre's Gospels. But the masked and sinister authority which anathematised for France what the Pope himself had blessed was not likely to concede greater freedom in Italy. The sequel was a letter to the Holy Father, which appeared in the review. Professing himself "a good Catholic," Signor Bonghi called attention to the evils which afflicted the Church in which he was born and was resolved to die—the corruption and ignorance of the clergy, the violence and habitual mendacity of the Roman Catholic press, the baneful influence of the Society of Jesus, and "the relentless war which the Pope was waging against Italy for the sake of a miserable temporal dominion." Italy might have enjoyed the peaceful neutrality of Switzerland but for the Papal intrigues which forced her to safeguard herself by an alliance with foreign Powers. He called upon his Holiness to reform the clergy, to get rid of the Jesuits, to abolish the so-called religious papers, to renounce all ambition for temporal power, to come out of the Vatican; and since he called himself the Vicar of Christ, to follow in Christ's footsteps, helping the poor, stimulating the rich to

every good work. "I hope and believe that our people are thirsting after that fountain of living water, from which Jesus gave the woman of Samaria to drink." In the Church of Rome that living water had ceased to flow for the masses towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the Reformation was the consequence. It was the quickening of the thought of God and Christ, far more than the right of private judgment about traditions, which enabled that movement to draw away from the Papacy the half of the faithful. "Should your Holiness continue in the way you have followed so far, I do not consider it an impossibility that such an event may reproduce itself in Italy."

Meanwhile, from the six depôt-centres (Ancona was given up in 1886) the work of the agency was pushed on with extraordinary success. The staff of colporteurs numbered over thirty picked men. The youngest were scattered as widely as possible, "to sow the villages with Gospels." The large cities were left to the veterans, the depositaries, and the pastors and evangelists of local churches. With rare exceptions the clergy were everywhere savagely fanatical; books were seized wherever it was possible to lay hands on them; 'twas a red-letter day when brown friars or white could bring a "mission" to a close with a fire of Protestant Bibles. Such displays of violence often defeated their own ends. "The priests ring the bells for us," said the colporteurs lightheartedly; "A good place for sales!—there is so much opposition."

From Genoa they went forth among the Piedmontese towns and villages, through the Waldensian valleys right up to the southern slopes of Mount Blanc, along the eastern and western crescents of the Riviera; and there Bible-selling was made harder every year by the hundreds of volumes thrown away by English visitors. At Turin, Mondovi, Pinerola, Torre Pellice, Aosta, sub-depôts dotted the country like beacons. In Piedmont the working classes were better

instructed and better off than elsewhere in Italy. Little groups of Bible-readers were found in thirty places seldom visited by evangelist or ordained minister. Here Callegari, infirm and bent with age, sold his 3000 or 4000 copies; and a circulation of 7000 was reached by young Peruggia, who in 1892 witnessed a signal discomfiture of his opponents. It was at Bobbio, near the famous old abbey of St Columban. Irritated by his sales, the priests harassed him from house to house. He challenged their assertion that Diodati's version was corrupt. Eager faces surrounded the disputants in the public square. Then the crowd parted before a gentleman of some standing. He upbraided the priests with their calumnies, vouched for the fidelity of the translation, and urged all to buy. Peruggia's stock was exhausted; he brought more; and on that day began an evangelical movement which was fostered by the Waldensian ministers.

The romantic region of Como and Lago Maggiore, the plain of Lombardy, the mountains bounding the Tyrol, the camps about Mantua and Verona, the University of Padua and the coast of Venetia, were frequented by the men from Milan. On the 29th July 1888 died old Giovanni Lebbolo. For five-and-twenty years he had travelled in the Alpine valleys of the Simplon and the Ossola, and the small towns that sprinkle the shores of Lago Maggiore. His last hours were brightened by a letter from an emigrant in Buenos Ayres, who told him of his own conversion and that of the friends with whom he read the Scriptures, and begged him to take to the writer's sister a copy of the book which had changed his life. When Lebbolo had been two years in his grave, the whole village of Mont' Orfane, who had listened to his humble testimony, dismissed their priest, sent for the Wesleyan minister of Tutra, gave him their church, and accepted the pure Gospel.

Sardinia was worked from Leghorn, the oldest of all the agency centres, and the most convenient *entrepôt* for the

distribution of the Scriptures. For all its two thousand two hundred odd priests, the island was still notorious for its lawlessness and vendetta outrages. Tommasi and Zampatti prepared the way for a Waldensian pastor, who held meetings in several towns formerly unapproachable. Tommasi we have already met as Mr Thomas, prisoner of the Syndic of Busachi. His case was reported far and wide by the papers, and the account of his treatment and of Crispi's summary justice produced a friendly reaction in the island. Zampatti died of cholera at Cagliari in the autumn of the same year, and at the end of 1888 Mr Thomas, whose wife was a sister of Henry Griffiths, the District-secretary for South Wales, was placed in charge of the depôt at Rome. He had already seen fourteen years of hard work, partly as an evangelist of the Italian Free Church and partly in the service of the Society. No suitable successor could at once be found, but the work was kept going by an excellent man employed by the Baptist Union of Cagliari.

Apart from its colportage work in Tuscany, Umbria, and beyond the Apennines, Florence was becoming the most important business centre of the agency. Expenses were considerably reduced by the production of native editions under the agent's supervision, and from 1887 onward the Claudian Press, the only Protestant printing-office in the country, supplied not only the Scriptures needed in Italy, but many thousands of copies for use in other agencies. The finest specimen of their workmanship was the Family Bible, a beautiful octavo six-franc volume in small pica, which was completed in 1894. The text, divided into paragraphs, had been revised and slightly corrected by Signor Meille and Pastor Luzzi from Diodati's last edition (1640). The references were completely re-edited, and the appendix contained a set of unrivalled maps. "Evviva! Sursum corda!" wrote a correspondent from Trieste: "Italy has never seen such an edition." It was sold at half price to the churches which

had adopted the admirable plan of giving a Bible to every married couple.

In these years Ciari, the oldest of the colporteurs, might be seen daily, even in the bitter cold of a Florentine winter, at his stall under the famous Uffizi Gallery. Who can forget that he was one of the two, who with a shaggy Abruzzo dog and a dog-cart of Scriptures, marched into Rome with the troops of Victor Emmanuel? He sold chiefly to soldiers, but now and again even the priests had a word of friendly cheer for the old man, who was grown too nearly blind to travel.

In Rome itself ingenuity could not have devised a more certain sign of the extinction of the temporal power than the open Bible in the Piazza di Spagna, and the old Garibaldian, Fossi—his breast covered on high festivals with the medals of his campaigns — selling the Scriptures at the railway station or in the Ghetto.[1] The priest gave notice to quit, owners of property asked prohibitive rents or refused point-blank to let, but the agency depôt was always in evidence somewhere hard by, and finally it occupied premises within a stone's throw of the huge black pile of the Propaganda. Its versions were accursed, but the great missionary college for "the propagation of the faith and the rooting out of heretics" took advantage of them—once, indeed, cleared its shelves of its whole stock of Hebrew. The Scottish Bible Society, the Waldensians, the Italian Free Church, and the various evangelical associations drew from it their ever-increasing supplies. In a few years the Word of God was also exhibited for sale by the Italian Religious Tract Society in the Via della Scrofa, and at the entrance of the Waldensian Church in the Via Nazionale.

[1] To the praise of Pius IX. let it be said that the barbarous restrictions of the Ghetto, the oppressive laws against the Jews, and what Browning calls "the bad business of the sermon" on Holy Cross Day were abolished early in his reign. "It is a Jew," interposed an attendant, when once the Holy Father placed a liberal alms in the hand of a beggar. "What does that matter, it is a man," said the Pope.

After fourteen years' service Fossi, the old Garibaldian from whom officers of the highest rank sometimes stopped to buy, died on New Year morning 1891. He heard the revellers passing in the small hours: "They are hailing the New Year, and I am dying. But I have believed in Christ, and that is enough for me." Some time afterwards his place was offered to the veteran Rosa, a lonely bachelor, who had begun to fail after twenty-five years spent in the northern Abruzzo; and a kindly evangelical family was found to care for him in the evening of his days. Within a few weeks, however, he was attacked by Roman fever, and hastened back to his mountains. But the mischief had been done. Comforted in his last hours by the Wesleyan pastor, he died at Aquila—the handsome old man, who had been a dashing cavalry officer in the Neapolitan army.

The visit of the Rev. James Thomas, the District-secretary, to Rome in the spring of 1891 resulted in the formation of an Auxiliary Committee, with Dr Gason, the builder of the first Protestant church in the Eternal City, as president, and Dr Young and Mr Searle of Tivoli as treasurer and secretary.

At Naples in the same year a numerous and influential Auxiliary was organised by Mr M. Gutteridge, a staunch old friend, for the furtherance of local work.[1] The Naples district, crossing from sea to sea and including Sicily and part of the Abruzzo, covered nearly one-third of Italy. In many a winter storm Marco Mariani had been snowed up for days in the Calabrian mountains. Now, in the hot sun of June 1889, as he made his way to join a comrade of the Scottish Bible Society at Catanzaro, he was struck down by apoplexy, and died on the lonely roadside. Carabinieri found his body, and it was buried in the nearest churchyard before any friend heard of his death. So ended twenty-nine years of toil in Molise, Basilicata, and Calabria.

[1] An Honorary Life Governor in 1897.

His brother and he had fought for Italian independence. Both were among the first to join the Waldenses in 1860, and to take service under Mr Bruce. Alessandro died as depositary in 1871; Marco was probably the only man who sold Scriptures to the brigands, when those vanished marauders yet infested Calabria.

In a region well-nigh as wild as Sardinia Del Principe sold his 7000 and 8000 copies among picturesque pifferari, herdsmen, and shepherds, in the summer pastures of the high Apennines. Nearly all could read. They delighted in the flocks and herds of the Patriarchs, in the exploits of David. They too used crook and sling, and fought for their flocks with bears and wolves. Most of all they were moved by the Good Shepherd, who knew His sheep, and whose sheep knew Him. In the Gargano peninsula, under the mountain shrine of Michael the Archangel, so curiously connected with Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, Cocca profited like Tommasi from the violence of the priests. They still "rang the bells against him"; followed him, screaming "Scomunica! Scomunica!" but before long there were a number of families who welcomed him to pray and read the Scriptures with them. Del Principe had found Christ through a Bible sold to him by Cocca, and Cocca had been led to the truth by a copy he also had bought from a colporteur.

Three men worked in and around Naples. The Bethel and Sailors' Rest for British seamen were assisted by the Society. The Italian shipping was visited by Stampacchia, who had taken a leading part in the distribution to the Italian regiments bound for the Red Sea colony of Massowa, corresponded with a hundred and fifty of the officers and men, and kept in touch with those who returned home. In Sicily the depôt at Palermo, kept by the Waldensians, was supported by regular and increasing grants of Scriptures, and the field was shared with the colporteurs of the Scottish

Bible Society. On one of his tours among the priest-ridden excitable population Stampacchia left a supply of books with a Waldensian, the owner of a large orange farm on the slopes of Ætna. Many copies were captured by the priests, and burned in front of the church. The day was windy, and one of the half-burned leaves was blown to the feet of a man who looked on approvingly from his doorstep. Even on that fragment of scorched paper which he picked up and read, the words were living things. He went in secret to Stampacchia's friend, bought a Bible, received instruction, and it was not long before he and his family joined the Waldensian Church in Catania.

For ten successive years each report of the agency showed, with a solitary exception, an increase of circulation on the twelvemonth preceding. In 1893 the issues of 1884 were more than doubled.[1] The sales by colportage alone, though a large proportion consisted of halfpenny Gospels and Testaments at 2d., exceeded numerically the colportage sales in France or in Germany. Yet these were among the most burdened years in the annals of Modern Italy.[2]

The mischievous effect of indiscriminate free distribution was not confined to the Riviera. All through Italy the holiday routes of the British tourist bore evidence of the same thoughtless zeal. In one place, for example, a colporteur had a little crowd about his stall, "and surely some would have bought," when two English gentlemen arrived, asked the people if they could read, and distributed handfuls of Gospels and Testaments — "not fifty, or a hundred, but thousands of copies." The books were torn to pieces, the leaves thrown into the faces of the colporteur

[1] 80,938 and 169,937 copies respectively.

[2] Millions of money glided into the sea from the naval slips of Spezia. Harvests failed. Trade declined. From some provinces whole villages emigrated with their priest to Brazil or La Plata. In Sicily, where the export of wine and sulphur almost ceased, socialist agitation drove the people to the verge of insurrection. In numerous villages lads of fourteen were sworn into secret societies hostile to every form of religion.

and his wife. Some lit their cigars with them. Others trampled them under-foot with the remark: "You try to sell them; these gentlemen give them away; this is how we use them!" The ground was strewn with bits of torn and half-burned paper. A quantity of Scriptures, left for gratis distribution with a second-hand bookseller, himself an unbeliever, were disposed of to a monk. Handsomely bound copies were occasionally brought for sale to the depôts. In 1894 discredit was thrown on the Word of God and its distributers throughout Lombardy by the circulation of a foolish pamphlet with 20,000 Portions in the streets of Milan. These good people, who knew nothing of Bible-work, nothing of the men that stood alone in the market-place exposed to the anger of the priests and the fanaticism of the mob, that travelled into wild and dangerous places, reading, instructing, praying for a blessing on every copy sold (and more stress was laid on these duties than on the number of sales)—these good people would have been shocked to hear that, like the Church of Rome, they did not do the work themselves and prevented others from doing it.

What little pains people took to ascertain either the condition of Italy or the character and methods of the Society was illustrated by a series of groundless strictures read at the Gibraltar Diocesan Conference, and reproduced in the *Anglican Church Magazine* in September 1894. While admitting that, "on the whole" the work of the Society might have been productive of good in the past, the critic declared that it was "certainly no longer necessary." The Bible had ceased to be a sealed book; the Roman Catholic version was "to be had everywhere at moderate prices"! Even if these statements had been beyond question, they took no account of that immense rural and upland population which knew nothing of booksellers, nothing of the value of the Bible, which had been forbidden to touch the Bible,

which would never have seen a copy of the Word of God but for the Society's colporteurs.

Almost at that moment the colporteurs of the British and Foreign and of the Scottish Bible Society—for the relations of the two were most friendly, and their men gathered in union conferences—were combining in prayer and appealing for the intercession of the Italian Evangelical Churches in the midst of increasing difficulties. The opposition of the clergy had never been more systematic and effective, and advanced Liberalism had assumed a hostility as implacable as that of the priests themselves. If at any time the work of the Society was necessary, it was in Italy at that moment.

On the 18th November 1893, the year of the Pope's episcopal jubilee, had appeared the famous Encyclical, *Providentissimus Deus*, which a number of English Evangelicals hailed as an olive-branch.[1] In Italy no Liberal paper troubled to notice it. It contained no message for the people. So far as visible signs went, it had no effect upon the priests. A fact more worthy of remembrance was the recognition among public men of God as ruler of the destinies of nations. "May God protect Italy!" exclaimed Sonnino, the first Protestant Minister Italy ever had, as he closed the financial statement in 1894. There was a laugh, but the words were not lost on his hearers. "They alone are good citizens," said Crispi afterwards at Naples, "whose banners are inscribed, 'With God and the King for our Native Land!'" The novel phrase vibrated through Italy, and was answered by a kindred note in King Humbert's yearly telegram to Rome on the historic 20th September. Clearer still rose the voice of the Poet of Italy, Carducci, in his oration at the opening of the State Palace of San Marino: "Detestation of a pestilent and tyrannous superstition, and the arrogance of science, have made the Latin races forget God. But neither can shut out God from history. . . .

[1] Chap. xli. p. 201.

From Him, the Almighty, the All-perfect, we must take our departure in every enterprise; He alone can bless everything we do."

The disastrous earthquake of November 1894 shook Messina to its foundations and spread desolation over a large area of the opposite coast. Two colporteurs were quickly on the spot, and nearly 600 Testaments and Portions were distributed among the sufferers, amid the wildest scenes of panic and misery, idolatrous superstition and fanaticism.

In September 1895 the twenty-fifth anniversary of the entry of the Italian troops into Rome was celebrated with patriotic jubilation. The monument of Cavour, the heroic equestrian statue of Garibaldi, were unveiled. In thanksgiving for a quarter of a century of uninterrupted Bible-work a little band of eight Scottish and British and Foreign colporteurs—two of them old Red Shirts, while a third had marched through the breach of Porta Pia[1]—were sent out amid the endless processions, reviews, illuminations, to the Pantheon, the Capitol, the Porta Pia, the vast Piazza of St Peter's. It was too gay and excited a time for large sales, but some thousands of Bibles and Testaments were disposed of, and numberless leaflets containing the text, "Search the Scriptures," and advertising the depôt and its editions were dispersed among the constant stream of visitors.

But the lapse of a quarter of a century had not reconciled the Holy See to the loss of temporal rule, or to the heretical profanation of the Eternal City; and there can be little doubt that this festal year had long been marked out for a display of clerical power. For a time it assumed the appearance of a great religious revival. North and south the people were seized with a passion for pilgrimages. Multitudes flocked to the shrine of the Madonna della Valle di Pompeii, near Naples, a new "protectress" whose celebrity threatened to

[1] The comrades Cantarini and Gerelli had served the Society for twenty and twenty-three years in Lombardy and Venetia.

rival that of "Our Lady of Lourdes." Special trains were run for the thousands of devotees whom every Tuscan prelate in turn led to the marvellous Madonna on Monte-Nero, near Leghorn. A "Marian Congress" was held in that city, a "Eucharistic Congress" at Milan, a "Catholic Congress" at Turin. Everywhere it was a mustering of the forces of the Papal party, bent on the capture of the municipal and provincial administration throughout Italy; while the Holy Father, dreaming of a restoration of mediævalism, appealed to Christendom, and to the English people and the Eastern Church in particular, for a fantastically impossible reunion.

In the thick of these demonstrations occurred a reminder that even among the priesthood some leaven of the pure Gospel was working. Called to preach the sermons of "the Month of Mary" at Piacenza, Don Paolo Miraglia, a Sicilian priest, set aside the customary themes, and quoting largely from Savonarola, more largely still from the Bible, proclaimed the need for a moral and religious reformation in Church and State. Day after day, until the Bishop interposed, the large aristocratic church of San Savino was thronged with eager listeners. Crowded audiences followed Miraglia to the great hall where he began to say Mass, preach and distribute the Word of God. Bribes, threats were vainly tried to persuade him to leave Piacenza, to forego at the least the priestly dress and title. Attempts were twice made on his life. He was tried on a false charge and acquitted. To catch the clerical vote at the elections, the Prefect closed his place of worship, "out of respect for public morality." The act was declared illegal, and after many months of worry and delay, Don Miraglia and his congregation of 750 men and women were free to attempt the formation of a "National Reformed Catholic Church."

The temptation to conciliate the clericals was one of the worst evils in these days of shifty political combinations. The Marquis di Rudini went so far in his bid for their

support that liberty of conscience was for a time in actual danger. The priests regained much of their former prestige; and in many places the police scarcely dared to give the colporteur the protection to which the law entitled him. There was a rude awakening when the bread riots broke out in 1898, and socialists, anarchists, and clericals came little short of plunging the country into revolution and civil war. With some honourable exceptions the higher clergy held aloof, awaiting events. The Vicar of the Prince of Peace was silent. The gist of his tardy Encyclical, three months later, was an attack on the policy and legislation of thirty years, which had curtailed the inquisitorial power of the Church of Rome.

A new and resolute ministry counterchecked the policy of the Jesuits. It was the jubilee year of the Italian Constitution, and Florentines were scattering flowers on the spot where the body of Savonarola was burned four centuries ago.

Through all vicissitudes the agency pursued its mission with unabated courage and devotion. Numerically there was a gradual decline in circulation, but the proportion of Testaments and of Bibles increased; and when the systematic free distribution of other organisations was discontinued, the smaller yearly returns represented a more highly appreciated diffusion of the Scriptures.

The Abyssinian campaign gave occasion for another large distribution to the Army — 19,000 Bibles, Testaments, and Gospels. Among the first recipients was the Alpine battalion, which, with its gallant Major and a dozen Waldensians, was almost "wiped out" in the reverse at Adowa.

In the course of 1896 the Society lost one of its warmest friends in Dr John Gason, who had practised for forty years in Rome, and whose beautiful little church in Piazza San Silvestro was the centre of several benevolent and religious enterprises. On his death the Rome Bible Committee was reconstituted, and an association of ladies was formed to assist the work.

The sub-depôt at Turin was taken over and enlarged by the Waldensian Board in 1896, on the same terms as that of Palermo, a yearly grant of Scriptures to the value of £16.

With the greatest difficulty a position was obtained in the magnificent Exhibition at Turin in 1898. The Executive "could not afford" to offend the clerical party, who had erected splendid pavilions for the Religious Arts and Roman Catholic Missions. The right to exhibit and sell the Scriptures was at length conceded, on the condition that the kiosk should have no inscription. More than one kindly priest, however, encouraged the work; 12,000 copies were sold; and upwards of 22,700 Gospels were taken from the gratis tray placed for visitors.

In July this year, on the sudden death of the cheerful old depositary, Cereghino, who had been thirty-eight years in the service, Genoa was made a sub-depôt, in charge of his son-in-law, Guiseppe Alimonda, and the staff of colporteurs was divided between the centres at Milan and Leghorn. Cordano, the depositary at Leghorn, had in the far past worked with Cereghino for the Scottish Society, and had married his sister; he held his post until the Centenary, and then gave place to his son, who had been his assistant for a number of years.

With the support of the Society, a Biblewoman of the Methodist Church began work among the poor of Rome.

But doubtless the chief event of 1898 was the experiment in a new field, perhaps the darkest and most forbidding in Italy. Under a bad system of deportation, habitual criminals, and of late years socialists and political agitators, were sentenced to terms of exile on various islands. There, on an allowance of 5d. a day, idle and uncared for, they lived as they pleased from the morning roll-call which dismissed them, to the evening roll-call which herded them in barracks for the night. Prompted by a visit of one of the Tunis men to Pantellaria, in the extreme south-western waters, Signor

Meille obtained a pass from the Government, and thenceforth one or more of these convict isles—Ponza and Ventotene in the Gulf of Gaeta, Lipari, the three square miles of Ustica, Favignana off the furthest jut of Sicily—were included in the routine of the year. Many copies were sold to the islanders, and hundreds of Portions were gratefully received by the *coatti*, who were moved that strangers should have thought of their welfare. Some who were sent money from home bought the New Testament or the Bible. Others carried the colporteurs' belongings, bade them come again soon, and when they did return showed their books worn with use. On one occasion the steamer from which Deodato landed in Favignana brought two Franciscans. They had come to sell indulgences at 4d. "a bull," but the convicts hissed them out of the square. Social outcasts on a penal rock; the friar with his bell and his indulgences; the colporteur with the Word of God—was it not a summary of the moral problem of the world and the irreconcilable views of Christendom as to its solution?

By another strange turn of the wheel, in a Rescript dated 13th December 1898, his Holiness granted an indulgence of 300 days to the faithful who read the Holy Gospel for at least a quarter of an hour, and a plenary indulgence to those who persevered daily for a month. It was treated apparently as a dead letter. A year after date nothing was known of it at the Library of the Propaganda. It was known, indeed, to a devout young priest at Naples, but the edition of each of the Gospels which he began to issue had to be abandoned in despair. The first of the Gospels sold very slowly, and in many places even these little books, which contained a notice of the special indulgences, were sought out and destroyed by the priests.[1]

[1] The reasons of publication given in the preface did not support the view that the Society's work was no longer necessary: (1) "There are in the cities and in the country thousands of souls who do not know what the Gospel is, or where it is to be found"; and (2) "It is not easy to all, and especially to the lower classes, to buy

A choice collection of versions in Eastern tongues was exhibited at the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in 1899, and was afterwards presented to the Library of the University.

Towards the close of the year large quantities of Testaments and Gospels were prepared for the multitudes expected in the Anno Santo, the Holy Year which closes a century. Hundreds of thousands arrived. They visited his Holiness; they trooped to the churches. The Romans looked on, amused at the variety of strange costumes, but without a sign of ill-feeling or want of respect. The Pope was as free to exercise his spiritual functions as he had ever been.

The colporteur, too, was free. To the groups who came from looking at "the holy door" of Santa Maria Maggiore (opened but once every quarter of a century by the Sovereign Pontiff himself), he read the text, "I am the door; by me if any man enter," and offered his books, stamped on the cover, "Roma: 1900"; and in spite of the priests' warning, "Al lupo! 'Ware wolf!" many a copy, bought in the streets or at the railway station, was carried by the strangers to their distant homes.

But this common freedom was intolerable to the Vatican. Every help and encouragement was promised by Pope Leo to the Association for the Preservation of the Faith in its crusade against the Evangelical Churches; and the notorious speech of the Duke of Norfolk on the temporal sovereignty evoked from his Holiness a passionate response to the English pilgrims: "Under our eyes, in this holy city, which should be the inviolate centre of Catholicism, it is permitted to associations for religious propagation to take advantage of the sad economic conditions of the country to

the whole Bible." The news of these indulgences had seemingly not reached Piedmont in 1900. In *The Holy Gospel read in the Family* "An Italian Catholic Priest" deplored the inferiority to Protestants in which Roman Catholics were placed by their ignorance of the Scriptures, and pleaded for a return to the ancient custom of the common people reading the Word of God.

corrupt the faith of our children in the name of the specious doctrine of private judgment. . . . You are right in protesting against this state of things."

Thanks to God's providence the Bible lay open and unchallengeable within a few yards of the headquarters of the Society of Jesus. Under the cool awning of the depôt people of all nationalities paused to read, or to scan the versions of the Word of Life in the tongues of four continents. From its shelves upwards of 267,000 copies of Scripture had been sold within a dozen years. "Such a circulation in Rome seemed like a dream. Thirty years ago the gates of the city were barred against our entrance, and the English and Scottish congregations worshipped outside the walls. To-day native and foreign Evangelical churches stand side by side with the richer and more ancient shrines and basilicas."

On the 29th July King Humbert, "Il Re Leale," was assassinated, and the Holy Year and the nineteenth century closed under the shadow of a horrible crime.

Was it an awakening of the Holy See to the perils of an ever-widening materialism, or a concession to an irrepressible movement in the Church, which marked the opening of the new century? From the Vatican press itself appeared in 1902 a new Italian translation of the Gospels and Acts, published by a Latin Bible Society—"la Pia Società di S. Girolamo per la diffusione dei santi Vangeli." In tone and character this was a new thing in Italy.[1] The preface of the volume displayed a gentleness of speech, a graciousness of spirit, never seen before. The Protestants were referred to as "our separated Protestant brethren"; no doubt was breathed as to the integrity of their versions; even the reputed error of their doctrine was touched without offence. In about a

[1] Witness the reply of a member of the *Società* to the contention that Protestantism should be checked by strong measures: "Protestantism is not to be put down by Papal Bulls or Congregations. The only way to arrest its progress is for our clergy to begin to preach the pure Gospel, and to give up all superstitious worship."

twelvemonth 170,000 copies of the book were in circulation. Its success recalled the enthusiasm which greeted Lasserre's version. And the remembrance of Lasserre prompted the question, "For how long?" Many of the old clergy showed already that not even the imprint of the Vatican could reconcile them to the "open Bible." But Leo XIII. died, after reaching "the years of Peter," and his successor, Pius X., who as Patriarch of Venice had furthered the *Società*, received its leaders in audience, gave them his special blessing, and thanked them for doing "a most useful and holy work." Exception might be taken to assertions in the preface, and to certain readings and notes, still the book was a clear and faithful transcript of the life and teachings of Christ, and the Bible Society might well thank God that 320,000 had passed through the press.[1]

These things gave some measure of the extraordinary impression which Bible-work made in Italy. Except in isolated instances, however, the recognition of the need for the Scriptures led to no change in the fierce intolerance of the Church of Rome. In one diocese possession of the Scriptures was included in the "reserved cases" of the confessional, which only the Bishop could absolve. In another the Bishop declared that the Gospels of the Protestant "came from the devil," and called on his people to take all their books to the priest—the good to be blessed, the bad "to be laid at the feet of our Immaculate Mother, that she might crush them as she crushed the head of the Serpent." In one of the last years of the period another prelate incited clergy and laity "to protest in every possible way" against the

[1] The sequel came in 1907. In the *Osservatore Romano* of 30th January there appeared a letter from the Pope to the Cardinal President of the St Jerome Society, in which his Holiness reviewed with satisfaction the astonishing results of its zeal in Italy and among Italians abroad, and, in order that it might concentrate its energies on this work, bade it "take the publication of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles as a sufficient field of labour." Further progress in the translation and publication of the New Testament was forbidden; yet it was much that the *Società* had escaped the fate of Lasserre.

insult offered to their religion by the sale of the Word of God; and the appearance of a colporteur in the market-place, engaged in a lawful calling, became a signal for threats, violence, and disorder. Like bishops, like priests.

The clergy themselves must have marvelled at the faith and courage of these Biblemen. They travelled through the southern provinces until Calabria and Basilicata were left to the friendly co-operation of the Scottish Society, which had fifteen men in various parts of Italy; from Otranto to the Gran Sasso, the Great Rock (and there in winter the mountain tracks are watched by the wolves); among the gangs in the burning rice-fields of Piedmont; among the Lombard farm labourers and their families who crowd into the great stables for warmth in the cold weather. They visited the navvies driving the tunnel through the Simplon; high up in the snowy Alps they were welcomed at the small custom-houses dotted along the boundary line to prevent smuggling; they were welcomed by the smugglers too. They crossed into Switzerland; they penetrated the Dolomites. From Milan, Bologna, Adria, and Udine four of them scoured the great plains on their bicycles.

One saw the Bible everywhere in Venice. It was literally an open book—in the paw of the Lion of St Mark, on the top of the Cathedral, on the Palace of the Doge, the Campanile, the Academy; but until the municipal laws were altered in 1903, the sale of the Scriptures out of doors was almost wholly prohibited in what might once have been called the City of the Bible.[1]

[1] The first book of any size printed in Venice (1471) was an illustrated edition of the Bible "in the vulgar tongue." Between 1471 and 1600 eighty-nine editions of the complete Bible, in various languages, passed through the Venetian press. But long before the invention of printing, the great Church of St Mark was, in sculpture, text, and mosaic, a transcript of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, a true *Biblia pauperum*. Within its walls centred the civic, religious, and political life of the Republic. Neither Pope nor Curia had a voice in its affairs. Its ritual was not Roman, its Bible, as one may see on spandrel, arch, and vault, was not the Vulgate, but the *Vetus Itala*, in revising which Jerome made his version.—*See* Robertson, *The Bible of St Mark*.

The colporteur mixed with the stream of emigrants at the seaports. Sometimes the priest ordered his books to be returned; more frequently they were kissed and hidden away in a breast-pocket: "Jesus Christ will accompany me on this long journey." Six millions of the population, it was calculated, emigrated in the forty years from 1860. The sons and husbands abroad preserved many districts at home from sheer starvation. When they returned, it was often with a purer faith and copies of the Word of God, drawn from the large consignments sent out yearly from Florence to the colonies of Italians scattered over the world from Canada to the Argentine, and from Siberia to Nubia and the Victoria Falls.

For the large number of Sardinians who scarcely understood Italian, the Gospel of St Luke was translated by Signor Arbanasich, son of a Baptist pastor in the island, and revised by Signor Bascareda, mayor of Cagliari. A thousand copies published in 1900 were quickly exhausted, and an edition of 2000 was put to press. In the last years of the period Guiseppe Pisano threw some light on the work of the old colporteurs. He visited nearly every house at Carloforte (population 7000) in the little-known Isla di S. Pietro, and found Bibles and Testaments, worn with good use, in the possession of numerous families. He was treated as an old friend by the lead-miners of Buggerru. In a small town near Cagliari he was the means of starting an evangelistic mission. Pisano, himself a Sard, was a convert of the Cagliari Baptist Mission. His stepfather was shot dead in the dark, and the laws of the Vendetta made him the avenger. But the Gospel had entered his heart; he refused to shed blood for blood, and his reasons convinced his mother and his neighbours that he was right. It was the story of the Maori in another form.[1]

As the old names dropped from the list of the staff, those

[1] Vol. ii. p. 130.

of worthy successors were added; but at the close of our record blind old Ciari, now seventy-four and led about by his grandson, was still at his stall near the Uffizi. For all his seventy years, Quarra, who began in 1861, still worked around Milan. Bowed with infirmity and thirty-one years of service, Calligari still trudged through the provinces of Parma and Vicenza. In 1904, after twenty-eight years of travel, the old Garibaldian, Martucci, withdrew from the markets and fairs in the Terra di Lavoro (the good "Plough Country" between Gaeta and the mountains), and was stationed at Caserta with a stock of Scriptures and his dazzle of war-medals.

So, for twenty years, under the direction of a gifted and devoted agent, sped the work amid the hindrances of illiteracy[1] and poverty, the indifference of the upper classes, the hatred of the socialist, and the rancour of the ecclesiastic. The measure of its success was hidden, but there was much to encourage the Society—in the liberal movements within the Church of Rome; in awakenings among the people, as at Campomarano, where the Syndic and the leading men, the lawyers, the school teachers all joined the common folk in a revival led by a Waldensian evangelist; in the discovery of Scripture-readers in strange places, as at Torre in Sicily, where Licata, himself an old sulphur miner, found in one of the *zolfataras* a group of workmen listening to the New Testament; in the sympathy of unknown friends amidst a fanatical population, as at a village in Salerno, where the colporteurs, retreating before the missiles of a furious mob, heard the words, "Remember, brethren, that Jesus also was persecuted and died for us."

Two isolated facts call here for mention. At Easter 1903 the King and Queen of Italy graciously accepted a copy of *The Gospel in Many Tongues* and of *Mary Jones and Her Bible.*

[1] In the south especially, where nearly every third man and every second woman was unable to read.

Copies of the Tosk and Gheg versions were sold at the Albanian Congress held at Naples in June 1903, and a resolution was passed by the meeting in favour of the circulation of the Albanian Scriptures, and the revival of the ancient tongue in public worship. After a settlement of nearly four centuries in Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, the Albanian colonies still clung to their nationality, and dreamed of a principality across the Adriatic ruled by a descendant of the heroic Scanderbegs.

In this period 2,634,682 copies of Scripture were circulated within the Italian Agency. The colporteurs distributed over 1,500,000; some 579,000 were supplied to other organisations; 119,000 were free gifts. The expenditure on the agency amounted to £89,240; the receipts to £21,521, little more than half the outlay on colportage alone (£42,045). Towards the end the Italian congregations were able to do more for the Society, and collections exceeding £200 were raised for the yearly visits of the District-secretaries.

Twenty-three years of Queen Victoria's reign had passed before the Society had a separate agency in Italy; thirty-three before the Eternal City was open to the circulation of the Word of God. From the foundation of the agency in 1860 to the Centenary, upwards of 3,627,000 copies of the Scriptures were scattered over the whole peninsula and the neighbouring islands. Altogether the Society printed 5,179,000 copies (including 513,095 Bibles, and nearly 1,250,000 Testaments).

On the formation of the North African divisions Malta was left to the Italian Agency. With the exception of an occasional Maltese Gospel sold to some curious or courageous inquirer, or a few copies distributed by English ladies, the circulation—a yearly average of 250 copies—was confined to British sailors and soldiers. At the end of 1891 Malta was transferred to the Egyptian Agency and was visited by

Mr Weakley. On the issue of the Encyclical on the study of the Scriptures, the Maltese Gospel of St John was reprinted at the request of a friend who shared the expense. But the Church of Rome had not yielded a hair's breadth in the matter of "heretical books," and the people were ordered to await the publication of their own version. After sixteen years' service, Mr J. May resigned in 1896; the Society's stock passed into the charge of an English firm of booksellers, and the harbour was seen to by the British and Foreign Sailors' Society.

In the course of twenty years between 3000 and 4000 copies were put into circulation. In 1901 the issues had dropped to 49 copies (34 English, 12 French, 3 Maltese). In 1902 62 Maltese Gospels were sold in the Egyptian Agency, but not one of these in the island. At the close of the Centenary, though Malta had been under the English flag for ninety years, it was still a misdemeanour to offer the Bible for sale in the streets; no Protestant was allowed to preach in the open air; excommunication, persecution, and social boycott were the certain result for any native bold enough to attend a Protestant service.[1]

[1] The order in Council (1899) making English, after an interval of fifteen years, the official language of the law courts and local legislature, was loudly denounced as the foreshadow of slavery, and secretly dreaded as the dawn of spiritual liberty for the island.

CHAPTER XLVIII

UNDER THE TIARA. (II.) AUSTRIA

We pass to a realm more Romanist than Rome, dominated, for the most part, by a hierarchy more papal than the Pope. Jesuits, driven out of France, swarmed in Tyrol; Jesuits, expelled from Germany, swarmed in Galicia. Throughout the Dual Empire Roman Catholicism, represented by a population of 30,000,000, was scarcely tinged by the creeds of 3,500,000 Protestants, 3,500,000 Orthodox Greeks and Armenians, and 2,000,000 Jews and Mohammedans. On its western border the Empire touched the science and culture of Germany; on the east, where the peasant in sheepskin still drove his primeval wooden plough, it was merged in the barbaric colour and lethargy of Oriental life. Over twenty versions indicated the confusion of tongues, and the concourse of races whose antipathies and jealousies threatened to exhaust the resources of political wisdom. Everywhere vigilant and intent on its own aggrandisement, the Church of Rome awaited its opportunities. Wherever it could find the means, it arrested the work of the agency; and Bible colportage, the most effectual method of distribution in a country which contained but six cities larger than Norwich, was forbidden altogether, or reduced to its least useful form.

The outstanding events in this last period of our story may best be gathered here in a brief chronicle.

The agency was specially favoured during the National Exhibition at Budapest in 1885. Permission had been granted for gratis distribution of the Scriptures, and upwards

of 40,000 Gospels were given away; but the public insisted on buying Bibles and Testaments; the Exhibition authorities not only yielded, but remitted the tax on sales within the grounds, and between 2000 and 3000 copies were disposed of.

At the meeting of the Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886 versions in 104 languages were presented in the name of the Society by Dr Robert Needham Cust, a member of the Committee; and these, with a similar gift from the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, formed the nucleus of a library established by the Oriental Institution under Government auspices.

At the end of the year the Principality of Montenegro, which was more accessible from Constantinople, was transferred to the Turkish Agency.

On the 31st January 1887 Mr Edward Millard resigned his charge of the great agency which he had built up in the Dual Empire. His service dated back to January 1847, when he was a colleague, at Cologne, of the veteran Pinkerton, and from the death of Pressensé in 1870 he had been the Society's senior agent abroad. To the end there was no abatement in his zeal or efficiency. In 1885 he superintended the printing of thirty editions (some 400,000 volumes) in a dozen languages, and fourteen other editions (140,000 volumes) in eight more tongues were passing through the press. In his final year the normal circulation in Austria-Hungary reached the maximum yet attained, 168,000 copies. During the forty years of his agency upwards of four and three-quarter million copies of the Word of God passed through his hands, and he had been associated with the translation, revision, and publication of four African and numerous European versions. He was succeeded by his son Henry Edward, who had been his assistant for nineteen years.

For the first time in Austria proper, the Society was allowed to distribute the Scriptures gratis at the Vienna

Exhibition of 1888. Nearly 54,000 Gospels were given away as "sample copies," and were readily accepted by visitors of many nationalities.

Croatia, in this year, was annexed to the district of the Pesth depôt.

A vote in favour of colportage was heartily passed by the Protestant Churches of the Empire during their Congress at Vienna in 1889.

Then came one of those occasions when the record of a nation is turned back to some of its most vivid pages, and the heart of a people is stirred to deep enthusiasm. On the 14th September 1900 the quiet little town of Göncz was thronged with a brilliant company — men of rank and influence, bishops and deans, and several hundreds of Hungarian clergy of the Helvetic and Augsburg Confessions — assembled to celebrate the tercentenary of the Magyar Bible, and to unveil the monument of its translator, Károli. The wrappings fell from the grey figure, larger than life. Yes, there in the garb of the sixteenth century—the quill in his right hand, the Bible open upon his knees—sat Gáspár of Nagy-Karol, peasant child, scholar of Wittenberg, pupil of Melancthon, Pastor of Göncz; the man who in the locust years of the Moslem incursions did more than any other to preserve Magyar nationality and the Protestantism of Hungary. In 1590 his translation, the first complete Magyar Bible, was published in a large octavo volume at Visol. In 1592 he was laid to rest beside his beloved church. Long afterwards the building was destroyed by fire; and upon its site, which with the whole of Göncz had been acquired by the Society of Jesus—upon its site and probably over his grave, another church was built by the Roman Catholics.[1]

[1] The Károli statue, the work of Professor Matrai of Budapest, stands near the present Protestant church. For a biographical sketch of Károli, and a historical outline of Bible translation into Hungarian, by Dr Duka, *see* the *Bible Society Reporter*, January 1891, p. 7, December 1892, p. 194, and a note in March 1904, p. 69.

Many copies of *The Gospel in Many Tongues* were distributed as mementoes of this red-letter day, for in response to a gracious invitation the Society was represented by Dr Theodore Duka and Mr Millard; and when reference was made to the sympathy of the Bible Society, and the old connection between the Hungarian Church and the Protestantism of England, no speaker was more warmly welcomed than the descendant of an ancient Magyar stock, Theodore Duka, the patriot who had fought through the War of Independence, and who now wore the Order of the Iron Crown.

Three years later, a day of thanksgiving was observed by the Protestant churches of Bohemia, in commemoration of the tercentenary of the Czech Bible (the version of the United Brethren), the first edition of which was completed in 1593 at the Castle of Kralitz, the stronghold of the Baron John of Zerotin, who bore the costs of the work.

From the Hungary and Bohemia of those far-off days, imagination flashes for a moment to England. The shattered remnants of the Invincible Armada had just reached the shores of Spain. Between the appearance of the Magyar and that of the Kralitz Bible, Sidney published his *Arcadia* and Spenser the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*; Shakespeare wrote *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Sir Richard Grenville fought his last fight in the *Revenge*. It was "the spacious times of great Elizabeth," but England was not yet spacious enough for more than one form of religious liberty, and in 1593 was passed the penal statute which forced the loyal Puritans into conformity, or drove them beyond the seas.

With regard to the Kralitz Bible, the Committee had undertaken an edition in 1884. Obsolete words, Germanisms, and other defects were removed by a board of Czech ministers under Dr H. von Tardy, a Church Councillor in Vienna, and 5000 copies in the new orthography and in the Latin character were issued in 1887. They were hailed by the Protestant

press as a valuable gift to the nation, sold well, and were speedily followed by a second 5000.

The revised text of Károli's New Testament left the press in an edition of 10,000 copies in 1885; and in the following year, on the initiative of Dr Duka, a board for the revision of the Old Testament was formed under the chairmanship of Karl von Szász, the poet-bishop of Budapest, who in 1889 was enrolled as the first honorary foreign member of the Society. Genesis was issued in that year; a day or two before the Károli celebration Dr Duka attended a conference of the revisers at the far-famed college of Sáros-Pátak; various difficulties which had retarded progress were cleared away; and in the summer of 1898 the complete Old Testament was published at Budapest. It was warmly received, but friendly critics discovered many blemishes, and a second revision by a number of leading theologians was carried through in 1901.[1]

The Károli Tercentenary strengthened the ties between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches and the Society. Its *Reports* were noticed in the chief papers, and greetings were exchanged between Committee and Congress. More than that, it stimulated Protestantism to a bolder confession of its principles, and in September 1895 a white marble monument was dedicated at Debreczen to the memory of forty-one Hungarian confessors and martyrs, transported in 1674 to the Spanish galleys at Naples.

On the retirement of J. Rottmayer, the old depositary at Klausenberg, after twenty-eight years' service, the work in Transylvania was directed from Budapest after 1895.

The National Millennium of Hungary was celebrated in 1896. A thousand years had gone by since Arpád and his Asian mounted archers rode down between Tisza and

[1] The chief critic and reviser, the brilliant Biblical scholar, Sándor Venetiáner, who was the son of a Rabbi of the strictest sect and pastor of Uj Sóvé, in Lower Hungary, died suddenly in February 1902. The new edition was finished at press in 1905, but its publication was postponed.

Danube, and pitched their tents on the illimitable Alföld grasslands haunted by the Fata Morgana. Amid the picturesque scenes of the Exhibition which illustrated Magyar history, the Bible Society occupied a plain kiosk; and near it stood the Bible-waggon of the sister Society of Scotland. Freedom of distribution was granted; a beautiful "Millennium" edition was prepared; and, including 3000 volumes sold, the total distribution amounted to 112,800 copies—84,000 in Magyar, 16,000 in German, and 12,800 in a variety of languages. Accompanied by Mr Millard and the poet-bishop, Dr Duka was permitted to present a superb Károli Bible to the Emperor Francis Joseph as King of Hungary. They were received at the Castle of Buda on the 11th June; the King addressed some gracious words to Dr Duka, and accepted the volume with his own hands. Though this was not the first presentation of the Word of God to his Majesty, never before had a deputation from the Bible Society been honoured with an interview by a Sovereign of the House of Hapsburg.[1]

Once more, in 1898, the fiftieth year of the Emperor's reign, the Society was worthily represented at the Jubilee Exhibition at Vienna. Specially prepared Gospels in the different languages of the Empire were freely distributed, and though this part of the work was stopped before the Exhibition closed, some 40,000 copies were put into circulation.[2]

[1] Dr Duka died at Bournemouth in 1908 at the age of eighty-two. After the storming of the fortress of Buda the young patriot, who was Görgei's aide-de-camp, was promoted to the rank of Captain. The Russian forces sent to the aid of Austria were shamefully beaten, but at length the gallant Hungarians were overborne, and the capitulation of Világos ended the War of Independence. Duka escaped from his captors, and reached London after many adventures. He became a naturalised British subject, obtained a commission as assistant-surgeon in the Bengal army, and retired in 1877 with the relative rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. In 1885 he joined the Committee, and was appointed a Vice-President at the Centenary. His loss to the Society is best described in the words his old General wrote to his widow: "With him I have buried a man's greatest treasure—a true and brave friend."

[2] The year's rejoicings were eclipsed in September by the assassination of the Empress at Geneva. The deep sympathy and the horror felt by the Society were expressed to his Imperial Majesty in an address from the Committee.

By means of these Exhibitions upwards of 251,000 copies of Scripture were scattered, probably far beyond the range of colportage ; the aim and extent of the Society's work were made widely known ; and public proof was given that neither legally nor morally was the Bible a "forbidden book."

Year after year the presses at Vienna and Budapest poured out their editions, the depôts were kept busy supplying their correspondents, colporteurs went bravely and hopefully on their restricted mission ; and year by year the Church of Rome used its favourite weapons of hostility. The natural desire of large numbers of the people to possess the Word of God was evidenced by the yearly average of 91,000 copies sold by the colporteurs under conditions which in Austria proper were almost impracticable. In the face of all difficulties the circles of inquirers grew continuously larger, the signs of advance became more conspicuous. In Vienna itself the week-day Bible class and the Young Men's Christian Association were established. Sunday schools and Christian associations spread in Bohemia, where for the most part the colporteurs were welcome visitors. The earlier men left pleasant traces long after they had passed away. In one place a packet of letters, still read by the people to whom they were written, made all later Biblemen honoured friends. Old Catholics bought, Jews bought, Spiritualists bought. In some Romanist villages the demand put Protestantism to shame. "Try to live up to it," said one worthy priest to a woman who brought him her Bible. Other priests supplied their own people, or approved of their purchasing. Among the very poorest, when wages were as low as 4d. or 6d. a day, real sacrifices were made to obtain a Gospel. In a certain village where there was neither pastor nor place of worship, 100 copies were paid for in half kreutzers—ten to the penny.

It was still the poor who were most eager in Moravia,

where, though an exceptional monk or priest showed himself a lover of the Bible, colportage was often dangerous. Socialism and irreligion found a ready soil in the poverty of Silesia; when the Scriptures were refused it was at one time because they were Popish, at another because they were Protestant. In 1884, and again between 1896 and 1899, the Jesuits brought colportage to a standstill in Galicia, and when licences were re-issued it was under more vexatious restrictions. The copyright of the Ruthen New Testament, published in 1883 by M. Kulisch, the translator of Shakespeare, and Dr Puluj, was purchased by the Committee, and an edition was issued in 1886; and in 1900 appeared a translation of the Psalms in Grazdanka, the school character, and in Cyrillian for older readers. It was the same story in the west and south-west provinces, where, for the first time, the telegraph enabled the priests to send round "the fiery cross" before the colporteur arrived. Good work was done in Carinthia; the Greek schools and seminaries were supplied in Dalmatia; and between 1884 and 1898 Proverbs, Genesis, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, by Professor Stritar of Vienna, were added to the Sloven New Testament.

After long delay one licence for Bosnia was granted in 1885. In the summer of 1889 the first Protestant chapel was consecrated. The project of many years was realised in 1891 by the opening of a small depôt at Serajevo, and with the concession of a second licence the work was extended to Herzegovina. The Word of God found its way into schools, prisons, hospitals, and was readily bought by the soldiers, poor as they were.

The question of the Apocrypha estranged a number of the Protestant pastors in Poland, but the Orthodox clergy were most friendly; and Russian piety contrasted brightly with the attitude of Roman Catholicism. Several thousand New Testaments were distributed in the hospitals at the request of

the Commander-in-Chief; and the Russ soldier, who kissed the book for which he gave his piece of rye bread or his last coin, took back a large Testament to his distant home when his term of service expired. The Jews, embittered by persecution and stung into fierce derision by injudicious free distribution of Scriptures (promptly sold for a trifle to the picture-hawker), were violently hostile, here and elsewhere. "Do not buy such a book," passionately said a Jew in Galicia to a co-religionist; "I bought it years ago. The more I read, the more I learned to love Christ. At last I could not do otherwise than confess Him in baptism; but never will I join those who persecute our nation." When their sorrows were lightened by the dreams of the Zionist movement in the later nineties, they turned wistfully once more to the book of the Crucified Messiah.

In 1896, after thirty years' service, died the old Warsaw depositary, Adolf Kantor of the Red Cross, who had circulated 545,000 copies. He was succeeded by his son; but at the end of 1899, Poland was annexed, for more convenient working, to the Russian Agency.

The revision of the Polish version was undertaken by a Board appointed by the General Synod of the Lutheran Churches, but this project ran into the sand; and in 1895 the Bible, slightly revised by Pastor Kölling, passed through the press. In 1898 appeared Pastor Kölling's edition of the Wuyk Bible, with a number of alternative Old Testament renderings based upon the Hebrew.

The Psalter in Judæo-Polish, translated by Isaac Cohn, a Lithuanian scholar recommended by Delitzsch, appeared in 1887; and, on his suggestion also, Isaiah was translated by Lichtenstein, or Herschensohn, a learned Bessarabian.[1] It was published in 1890; between that date and 1902 Jeremiah and the twelve books, Genesis–2 Kings, were issued; and

[1] The name Judæo-Polish was changed to Judæo-German; *see* preceding chapter, p. 304, for a Judæo-German version of larger scope.

in the Centenary year the version was completed, but the printing of the later books was postponed till there should be a greater demand.

In Roumania, as in Poland and Galicia, the colporteur encountered the same Jewish horror of "Nazarene" or "missionary" books. Amid much indifference in the upper classes and illiteracy in the lower, the Scriptures were circulated at the rate of about 8000 a year. New education laws raised the standard in the schools in 1893, and the Government itself issued a large edition of the Four Gospels in connection with their scheme of Scripture-study. As far back as 1881 it had been proposed to co-operate with the Holy Synod in a modernised version of the Rouman version. But the mills of that august body ground slowly, and during his visit to the East in 1894 the Secretary, Mr Sharp, arranged for the revision of the New Testament by the eminent scholar, Dr Nitzulescu of Bucharest. The book was published in 1897, but further progress was stayed by the reviser's death; and in 1903 the revision of the palpable misprints and blemishes of the Old Testament was intrusted to M. Dimitriu, teacher in the German School at Bucharest. The yearly circulation in Servia seldom much exceeded 2000 copies, but the solitary colporteur was well received by the clergy and the schoolmasters.

In Hungary and its provinces the effects of religious freedom were seen in the large and expanding circulation of the Scriptures; the effective visitation of camps, barracks, prisons, hospitals; the co-operation of the Churches; the growth of Evangelistic work. Transylvania and even Croatia had its Sunday schools and Christian associations. As the Croat Testament of 1878 did not completely satisfy the sentiment of the people, a new edition of the Bible, wherein the diction and orthography were brought more nearly into accord with the Serb folk-feeling, was prepared by Professor Resetar, and published late in 1895. The Reformed Church

adopted the Confirmation Testament in all its congregations; Unitarians and Nazarenes provided for their own denominations; ladies, professors, divinity students took active interest in the schools; special efforts were made to supply the poor with the Word of God and to promote temperance. "The piety of the Reformation seemed taking possession of its old homes."

A greater distance of time than has elapsed is needed to estimate in their true bearings the events which follow. In 1891, and in two or three later sessions, ineffectual attempts were made to include a reform of the old Austrian colportage laws in the Government programme. A course of liberal legislation for Hungary was carried through in a fever of agitation between 1892 and 1895. Members of the Ministry, eminent men, deputations from all parts of the Kingdom declared for civil marriage and absolute religious liberty; on the other side, the priesthood held meetings, Masses were said, and on the days on which these hated measures were debated in the House of Magnates, the Blessed Sacrament was "exposed" for adoration. In 1895 the organised "Catholic Revival," of which we have seen something in Italy and France, initiated another period of sacerdotal reaction. In Upper and Lower Austria, Galicia, and Croatia, colportage was stopped altogether. A fresh element of disorder was added by an outburst of racial antagonism. Deplorable scenes took place in the Reichsrath and in the streets of Prague, while in Hungary national hatred drove numbers of people from the Church of Rome. Out of the angry ferment emerged a secession movement, known in time by the phrase "Los von Rom." Its mysterious progress—for few understood its character—was represented by new Protestant congregations, an increase in the ranks of the Old Catholics, the appearance of new preaching stations and places of worship.

At the beginning of 1901 the Society was in the thick

of a storm of furious ecclesiasticism and irreconcilable nationalities. Before its close Mr Millard's health completely broke down under a long-continued strain of domestic anxiety. The last months of his life were overclouded by a mental darkness, from which he was released on Easter Eve, March 1902. He had recently seen several of the veterans of the staff laid to their rest—Hoffman of Vienna, after twenty-five years' service; the octogenarian Pfeil of Poland, after twenty-two; Speiss of Roumania, after twenty-six, and Speiss's colleague, old Michael, after forty. His position as agent he had held for fifteen years.

The control of affairs was temporarily placed in the masterly hands of Mr Michael A. Morrison; but after a skilful reorganisation, which included the suppression of the depôts at Lemberg, Serajevo, and Trieste, Austria-Hungary was united to Germany on the 1st January 1903, to form the vast Central European Agency stretching from the Rhine to the Russian frontier, and from the fair-haired fishers and amber-dredgers of the Baltic to the sallow vine-dressers and olive-growers of the Adriatic.[1]

Licences were obtained for two additional colporteurs in Bohemia, and — stranger still — for two in Galicia. The Croatian difficulties were overcome. After years of waiting a colporteur was licensed for Carniola; and, for the first time since 1876, a Bibleman was allowed to travel (during six brief months) among the sparse population on the hillsides and in the green straths of Salzburg. For generations Salzburg province had been under the rule of the Church of Rome.[2] Comparatively few of the people could read, and most of these wanted the *Lives of the Saints*,

[1] The amalgamation reduced the Society's expenditure from £15,318 to £12,687 in the first two years.

[2] For the inhuman expulsion of the Protestants of Salzburg by Archbishop Firmian, "in the dead of winter" 1732, *see* Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* (vol. iii. pp. 87-100). In all, 17,000 people were driven from their homes; of whom our "George II., or pious Trustees instead of him, took a certain number and settled them at Ebenezer in Georgia."

while their illiterate neighbours asked for "rosaries and little pictures to hang round their necks." When the six months elapsed the Governor refused to renew the licence: "Your work is not necessary here."

But in the Tyrol, where the number of priests and monks had increased 260 per cent. in the last fifty years,[1] in Vorarlberg, in the populous provinces of Upper and Lower Austria, every effort to obtain the most restricted privilege of action was thwarted by the intolerance of the ecclesiastical and the subserviency of the civil authorities. Jesuitical influence had so framed the press laws that in Vienna, one of the most brilliant cities in Europe, it was a criminal offence to sell without licence a newspaper in the streets, or a Bible at a man's door.

A last glance over the wide field, as our history closes, shows us the Styrian priests denouncing "Antichrist," and screaming against his "Satanic books"; the Styrian papers warning the ignorant people that the Pope alone can absolve the deadly sin of reading the Word of God, and bidding them report the arrival of the colporteur to the clergy or the police; the priest's courtyard lit up by the blaze of torn Testaments; the people who had bought these books raging round "the Lutheran devil" with spades, pitchforks, and cudgels, and beating him insensible. In Carniola a priest dogs him from house to house; a priest curses him; a priest cries from the pulpit: "No one knows whence this man has come, but the devil knows. The devil will fetch him." In Moravia his work is hindered by dealers in religious pictures, who promise that Masses shall be said for all who buy; and the people discover, when it is too late, that the picture-dealers are Jews. Here, too, there is Bible-burning; "If I had money enough," hisses a woman, "I would buy all your books and burn

[1] In one bishopric the number rose from 872 to 3652; in another from 140 to 270; in a third from 345 to 1200.

them." Factory hands attack the colporteur with brooms and sticks. "Arrest that man!" shouts the priest; at a word from the mayor the police seize him; the inquisitors browbeat him for an hour, find his licence in order, and set him at liberty. To-morrow a friendly priest grasps his hand, and wishes him God-speed; another priest advises the people to buy: "Every Christian family should possess a Bible."

In these regions, in Bohemia, even in Lower Austria, closed as it is, "a wind has come up out of the sea." The mysterious movement, "Los von Rom," which has brought over to Protestantism nearly 27,000 souls since it originated in 1898, seems to be sifting out the political dross of its beginnings. It is scarcely to be doubted that in Bohemia it has derived a stern vigour from the old Protestant traditions lingering in the land. Despite the widespread poverty (factory wages range from 4d. to 8d. a day), the Scriptures are winning their way steadily. "The power of the keys" is still enormous; but if the Word of Life is destroyed in one place, the books are worn out in another by devout study. There are men who have learnt to read for the sake of the Bible, and their friends gather under their roof to hear its divine message. In Silesia the school-children are ordered to bring their Testaments; the priest gives them back the empty covers, and burns the rest; but here there are Roman Catholics who resent this high-handed bigotry, and the Testaments are replaced.

The Scriptures vanish in smoke and flame in the churchyards of Galicia. The police collect the books; those who are unwilling to give them up are threatened with imprisonment. The colporteur is arrested. Jewish fanatics waylay him, but a friendly hand saves him from violence. There is the utmost difficulty in getting licences renewed. Suitable men, too, are hard to find for this medley of races who speak a dozen tongues and belong to as many militant

denominations. Poverty is driving the people in crowds into Germany; in still denser masses across the Atlantic. Labourers earn from 2d. to 2½d. a day; yet, for all their destitution, "fowls, eggs, and sucking-pigs" can somehow be spared to exchange for the Word of God. The complete Ruthen Bible is published, for the first time, at the close of our history (June 1904), and the Gospel of St Matthew is issued in Ruthen and English for the growing colonies of Galicians in Canada. Here, also, the watchword "Los von Rom" has been caught up by the Polish Catholics.

Even in Hungary, where the tutelage of the Jesuits has been shaken off and the law secures religious liberty, the power of Rome is still formidable; but fresh districts have been opened up, and a breath of new life has passed over the long familiar tracts. In the capital the Word is aided by the energetic policy of the Christian associations. Twenty colporteurs are controlled from Budapest — thirteen in Hungary proper, five in Transylvania, the beautiful "country of the Seven Castles," two in Slavonia and Croatia. From the busy towns, from the great isolated farms, the remains of the old villages ravaged by the Moslem invaders as they swept over the fertile plains of the Alföld; from the Carpathian foothills, where there were places half depopulated by emigration; from all sides come tidings of the Spirit working mightily wherever the Word of God is read. Only from Slavonia and Croatia, dotted over with convents and monasteries, does one hear of "hard and stony ground," and of petty persecutions and obstructions.

The Minister of the Interior gives the work his protection in Roumania. Rarely has any priest of the Eastern Church been other than friendly. The New Testament is read in the schools, and the Bibleman is welcomed in the prisons. He rubs shoulders with Magyars, Germans, and Russians, with Bulgars, Serbs, Italians, with Greeks and Turks. Even the gipsies buy, and among the Jews there

are many wistful inquirers. The worst hindrances are distance and illiteracy. Nearly 82 per cent. of the population are dispersed in villages, with scant means of intercommunication; 80 per cent. can neither read nor write. Still the circulation for the year has at length exceeded 10,000 copies; and the school and the railway are gradually opening new vistas.

The ruthless palace tragedy at Belgrade has not affected the Society's operations in Servia. Like his Russian cousin, the Servian reveres the Scriptures. The Orthodox priests encourage the work, and the school-teachers are eager to see the colporteur's books in the hands of their little villagers. Lichtenberger and his comrade travel far, and have many hair-breadth escapes as they take their light cart through flooded rivers, or unload and lead their horse along the crumbling ledges of mountain chasms.

Two colporteurs divide Bosnia and Herzegovina between them. The depôt at Serajevo has been closed, and the Word of God is carried instead to the high watch-houses, the lonely saw-mills and hill-farms. The population is sparse, and sales are not numerous, but every copy is precious where the Jesuits are "hard at work making converts of members of the Greek Church."

Even along the shores of the Adriatic, where, in spite of their mutual race-hatred, the Slovenes and Italians of Istria and Dalmatia are one in their hostility to the Bible, where the Scriptures are burned, and dread of the priesthood is rooted in an ignorance so abject that 798 of every thousand men and 915 in every thousand women can neither read nor write, one sees evidence of a divine blessing in a circulation which has risen to something over 6000 copies in the year.[1]

[1] Many of the sea-faring people of the little islands in the gulf of Quarnero were found in the possession of Bibles given them in English and American ports. As the version was English, however, the books were of little use, whereas more care in distribution might have sown these islands with the Word of God in the language of the people.

We conclude our survey with the conviction that "Austria is not hopeless." Despite the organised, unscrupulous, and undying opposition of the Church of Rome, "we have no just cause for despondency. Bohemia and Styria, Moravia and Carinthia, and many another place, are listening to voices which call them from darkness, and thousands are now worshipping God in the light of the Gospel where but a few years ago the darkness was believed to be impenetrable." From within the Roman Catholic fold itself comes the testimony of Rosegger, the foremost novelist of Austria: "I can never weary, as long as I live, of pointing to the Gospel. In Austria, where this book lies fallow, we little dream what lies therein; how it encourages, elevates, and inspires suffering, wrestling, hopeless men. After the day's labour we lie down in our beds, full of care. . . . How would it be, were we to take every evening that immortal book called the New Testament, and read a chapter or two aloud in our family circles, and speak about what we have read? In that way we should disperse many a dark cloud. We should conquer our lot, instead of being conquered by it."[1]

During the twenty years the Austrian Agency issued 3,314,000 copies of the Scriptures, exclusive of some 250,000 Gospels and Portions given away at the great Exhibitions. Upwards of 352,000 were put into circulation by other Societies; 1,086,000 by correspondents; and close upon 1,790,000 by the colporteurs — as faithful, steadfast, and zealous a body of men as any in the Society's service. At the Centenary there were eleven veterans; among them Locher, a St Chrischona man who had done splendid work since 1868, but was now growing feeble; Lichtenberger, his contemporary, of whom we have had a glimpse in Servia; Woschitz, who had served thirty years and a half, and

[1] Author of *The God-seeker* and *The Earth and the Fulness thereof*, stories of old and modern Styrian life, which have been translated into English.

who laboured in Trieste; and eight others who had been on the staff between twenty-three and twenty-nine and a half years.

Of the total circulation of the period, upwards of 1,376,000 were distributed in Hungary; 691,000 in the Austrias, Styria, and Moravia; 449,000 in Bohemia; 199,000 in Galicia; 160,000 in Roumania. The most striking linguistic increase was in Czech. Rouman, Serb, Magyar, Croat, Sloven, and Ruthen showed a growing demand. The decline in German was most marked; and Hebrew, Yiddish, and Sclavonic had also fallen off.

Down to the amalgamation with the German Agency the expenditure in connection with Austria-Hungary amounted to £308,144 (of which £79,072 went on colportage), and the receipts to £80,291.

The total circulation since the formation of the agency in 1864 exceeded 6,186,000 volumes.

CHAPTER XLIX

UNDER THE TIARA. (III.) SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

PASSING to Spain, we come upon times of disaster and mourning: 1884, with its earthquakes shaking down villages and storied towns ("This, your Majesty, *was* Alhama"), and leaving thousands of families homeless in an exceptionally bitter winter: 1885, with its cholera sweeping off 90,000 people. Few of those who lost their homes would accept the Society's free gift of the New Testament, but during the three worst months of the pestilence, when the death-rate in places exceeded 500 a day, and images of archangels and saints were carried in procession through the streets, the sales were highest.

Before the year closed another trial was added to the record of adversity. In the black marble vault beneath the high altar of the Escorial, the cloth of gold was drawn from the coffin, the glass was lifted from the face, three times the summons, "Señor, señor, señor!" was sounded into ears that heard not. The strange call reached the crowded church above like a cry of despair; then all was silence. "His Majesty does not answer. Then it is true the King is dead." The Lord Chamberlain broke his staff of office, the repressive Ministry of Canovas resigned, and once more Sagasta assumed the Government of the country. Some five months later (17th May 1886) the heir to the throne was born, presented on a silver charger to the Grandees and Ministers of State, and welcomed with acclamations, "Viva el Rey!" "Pity, chivalry, and patriotism on the part of the governed, and wisdom and

moderation on the part of the Government," united to avert "the evil omen" of having christened the child the thirteenth Alfonso of his line!

Under the more liberal *régime* the agency extended its operations along the new lines of railway into provinces hitherto untravelled. The old opposition continued, and that was not surprising, for ever since the restoration the religious Orders had been quietly returning, and in 1886 hundreds and thousands of monks expelled from France and Italy found refuge in Spain;[1] but fanatical and obsequious alcaldes were promptly checked and reprimanded on an appeal to head-quarters. The sales showed a marked increase, and depôts were opened at Seville and Barcelona.

Mr Palmer resigned in 1888—the twentieth year of the agency's existence, and the tercentenary of the Armada. His farewell tours through the great cities of Spain—among them Zaragoza with its Ephesian idolatry, its Ephesian silver-smiths and silver shrines of "Our Lady of the Pillar," its Ephesian priests "shovelling up in the evening the offerings of credulous worshippers"—vividly enforced the lesson of that historic deliverance, when God blew with His wind, and the high ships were broken. "In the ignorance," he wrote, "in the superstition, in the restless craving for liberty without the ability to use it when gained, and, most of all, in the rampant infidelity and rejection of all religion, which is now rapidly superseding the Romish Church in the hearts and lives of the people, is to be seen very clearly what Spain now suffers, and from what England was saved as the result of that day." Yet in the brief interval since the flight of Isabella, what evidence of progress! Illiteracy had decreased by 2 per cent.; over 1,000,000 copies of Scripture had been distributed from the Madrid depôt; the American Bible Society was at work in five or six of the northern provinces; in five others the men of the Scottish Society were abroad;

[1] Field, *Old and New Spain*, p. 164.

the number of declared Protestants—adherents no doubt of the various evangelical congregations — was estimated at 6000, and beyond these were the scattered believers who had no teacher but the Book.[1]

Mr Palmer was succeeded by the Rev. John Jameson, for sixteen years the representative of the Scottish United Presbyterian Mission, which had just decided to withdraw from Spain. The propaganda of the anti-Christian sects had now assumed an activity even more formidable than the antagonism of the Church. The ribaldries of Tom Paine and Ingersoll were scattered over the country. The powerful free-thought paper, the *Dominicales*, with its circulation of thirty or forty thousand, returned weekly to its attack, in one hundred and seventy odd chapters, on "the worn-out absurdities of the Bible." All the brilliant books of the modern sceptics in religion and philosophy appeared in Spanish, but no one troubled to translate the other side of the controversy. Even so eminent a Churchman as the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, who, in his large work *The Bible and Science*, cited Strauss and the Tübingen School as the typical exponents of Protestantism, had apparently never heard of the great orthodox Protestant Churches which were as widely removed from the rationalism of Germany as they were from the infallibility of Rome. So far as the Bible and the Bible Society were concerned Romanism and infidelity had joined forces.

In the dearth of evangelists and pastors the agency endeavoured to meet these trying conditions. The colportage plans were modified, so that if possible the Word of God should be offered at every door. Instead of frequenting the beaten districts, the men followed special itineraries, sought out the remote hamlet, the solitary farm,

[1] Apparently a popular illustrated Spanish Bible, similar to the Italian edition published by the editor of the *Secolo* in Milan, was issued by a private firm in 1888 or 1889, but the Society's records give no information on the subject beyond two casual references in the *Monthly Reporter*.

took the "partridge-track" to the hillside hut, climbed the bleak passes of the sierras, supped at times on a crust or a handful of cherries, slept if need were under the summer stars. Then a new experiment was tried. Educated and gifted men (pastors and evangelists in most cases) were appointed as sub-agents, partly to direct, help, and encourage the colporteurs, but chiefly to reach the more enlightened sections of the community and to remove prejudices by an exposition of the facts regarding the Book and the Society which circulated it. In 1891 eight of these sub-agents or inspectors were visiting the chief provincial towns, holding personal conferences, addressing large public meetings, and imparting information to thousands who could have been impressed in no other way. During the year "the Bible was made the theme of more conversations among intelligent people in Spain than in all the centuries since the Reformation." Interest or curiosity was awakened to a singular degree. The conferences, lectures, and conversaziones were attended by alcaldes, judges, and landed proprietors, by military officers, advocates, doctors, literary men, chiefs of police; even aristocrats and ladies were occasionally present. An audience of 400 or 500 was not uncommon; at times the gathering numbered 1500 or 1800. In 1893 one of the sub-agents held forty-eight conferences, and addressed between 12,000 and 13,000 people.

It was a costly service, and perhaps too questionable a departure from the strict work of distribution; and in 1894, when this higher grade movement tended to press unduly on other claims, the Committee felt that the experiment could not be prolonged indefinitely. How far these able men succeeded in influencing public opinion and arousing the national conscience it is impossible to say. During the five years 1890-94, however, the sales by colportage exceeded those of any quinquennium between 1874 and the end of the century; and the agency enjoyed a remarkable freedom

of action. In 1888, at the Barcelona Exhibition, the Bible stall, even under the protection of the British flag, had been relegated to an obscure place, and the distribution of the Scriptures completely prohibited after the first few weeks;[1] in 1891, when the depôts in Madrid and Seville were removed to more important positions, the conspicuous sign-boards and the large placards announcing the change were cordially sanctioned by the authorities. In Seville the inscriptions, *Sociedad Biblica*, *Sociedad de Publicaciones Evangélicas* (Religious Tract Society), *Las Sagradas Escrituras en* 291 *idiomas*, overlooked the very square of the *autos-da-fé* and rebuked the half pagan pageants which streamed by on high festivals. In Madrid the agency occupied an ancient building, which, if it had not been a dependency of the Inquisition, stood within a few score yards of the headquarters of the *Tribunal Supremo*.[2] Great posters advertised the Society in three hundred of the railway stations of the country. Authors and journalists met for the study of the Scriptures in the rooms of the agency. Appreciative articles appeared in the papers. Innumerable attempts were made to retrench these privileges; the leader of the Carlist party flamed out against them in the House of Deputies, but was told by the Minister of the Interior that the Government saw nothing censurable in the publicity given to the Society.

The sub-agents may have achieved much, but in the long run it was the humble colporteurs — thirty or so in number—who did the Society's specific work. Statistics tell but little of their labours, their trials and difficulties even in these improved times, their spiritual experiences ("I was

[1] Over 3000 Portions were circulated.

[2] The dungeons of the Inquisition were situated exactly behind the Society's offices. According to a tradition the Inquisitor-General or some of his suite once lived in the agency building (Leganitos 4), and a secret passage connected it with the dungeons. The beginning of such a passage, walled up but apparently leading in that direction, may still be seen; but there is no conclusive evidence in support of the tradition. For an account of the houses of the Holy Office in Madrid, and the sensational "Chemastin" story which misled so many controversalists, *see* the exposure by B. B. Wiffen in *Notes and Queries*, vol. x.

much strengthened by my fellow-traveller—our Lord Jesus"). One must read their journals; learn how they went among the Galician reapers (the "Irish harvesters" of Spain) in the fields of Old Castile, or among the Rio Tinto copper-miners, who were still striking through into old Phœnician shafts and Roman galleries; picture to oneself the long evenings in Albacete or Zamora when reading and discussion lasted till midnight; imagine the groups of children at some Catalan inn where the Bibleman taught them hymns, remembered and sung long afterwards. The prisons were visited—prisons of the old barbarous type—where many of the inmates listened eagerly and some even found money to buy. There was one happy Sunday in the mountains of Lérida, when councillors, clerk, schoolmaster — the whole village except the *cura*—gathered in the open air on the threshing-floor to hear the Gospel message from the first Protestant they had ever seen. More than once we read of some kindly priest, like him who sat at his door in the sun and had no harsher thought than one of grief that there should be believers separated from Rome; more than once, too, of evidences of the power of the Divine Word. On the Almerian coast seven or eight copies were sold to a fishing crew. They were read with blessing, the wild hearts were changed; and instead of cursing and swearing, "the songs of Zion floated over the moonlit waters." One market-day at Fuensaúco, a village carpenter, Melquidas, bought a Bible ("There was so much reading for so little money"). It soon became his delight when the day's work was done. His sister listened at her spinning-wheel as he read aloud; then evening after evening the neighbours stole in—staying longer, coming in larger numbers, till all that village learned to worship God in spirit and in truth. They were a poor people, but they managed to obtain land for chapel, schools, and parsonage. One man gave timber, another made bricks, others lent their carts and horses, many offered their labour

free. Then a pastor was sent to them, and a plot of earth was purchased where their dead might rest until the resurrection dawn.

Up to this point comparatively little was done in the matter of versions. In 1888 a new edition of the Catalan New Testament (2000 copies) was brought out, with corrections by Mr Reeves Palmer and Don Pedro Sala, and in 1891 the Four Gospels and the Acts, revised, were issued at ½d. each, under the supervision of a committee at Barcelona. Borrow's Gitano St Luke was printed as a diglot with Spanish in 1890, and in the following year the Gipsy text was under revision, but no further edition was called for. A tentative issue of Valera's St Luke, revised by Mr Palmer, appeared in 1886; but after much labour spent on the New Testament and Genesis, the undertaking was suspended on his retirement from Spain. In 1889 a committee of revision was appointed under Mr Jameson, and in 1893 the text of the Gospels and the Acts were issued tentatively.[1]

Mr Jameson withdrew at the end of 1894, a year doubly marked—by the completion of the first 1,500,000 volumes issued by the Madrid Agency, and by the consecration of Señor Cabrera as first bishop of the Reformed Spanish Church.[2] In 1895 Spain and Portugal were united in one agency under the Rev. R. Stewart, and the Rev. R. O. Walker, a young and able graduate of Edinburgh, was sent out as his assistant. Here, however, we must return to 1884, and bring the record of Portugal up to date.

In 1884 the Lisbon Agency completed its twentieth year. Sixteen places of Protestant worship, hundreds of children in Sunday and day schools, testified to the transforming power of the Gospel; but far beyond the range of these results the

[1] Among the Scriptures which left the press in Madrid were 2000 copies each, in Pangasinan, of Matthew, Mark, John, and the Acts, for the Philippine Islands (1889).

[2] The issues from 1868 to 1894 were 1,542,107 copies. Señor Cabrera was consecrated on the 23rd September by Archbishop Plunket and the Bishops of Clogher and Down.

Word of God had wrought a diffused and subtle change which was not so easily measured. In 1884 a Roman Catholic dignitary not only pleaded for tolerance and defended the unrestricted use of the Bible, but in one of the great churches of Oporto, on the most solemn fast of the year, declared in a burst of eloquence that God had used the Reformation to spread throughout Europe the light of His revealed will. In May 1886, on his marriage with Princess Marie Amélie, the Crown Prince, Dom Carlos, graciously accepted a copy of the Bible and the congratulations of the Society. The walls of Lisbon were placarded a month or two later with bills in huge type, *Biblia Sagrada*, announcing an edition of Figueiredo's version, edited with the Vulgate by Senhor Cunha of the National Library, and issued by one of the most enterprising firms of the capital; and the prospectus of the work contained the astonishing avowal from the pen of the Patriarch of Lisbon, that "this book is The Book *par excellence*, the Book of all times, and for all peoples; suitable for all ages and all social positions; the Book for men, women, and even children." In the north the sales of the Oporto depôt were affected by the vigour with which the Bishop of Coimbra's version was spread by an association formed for its distribution. The Gospel of St Matthew and that of St Mark—parts of a new translation undertaken by a committee of English, Portuguese, and Brazilian ministers of various denominations[1]—appeared in 1886 and 1888, and were reproduced serially in a Portuguese newspaper. A strange series of incidents!—to which perhaps might be added the scholastic reform at Coimbra University,[2] where the Society's Hebrew, Greek, and Latin texts were eagerly

[1] Mr Stewart's committee consisted of Canon Pope, the Rev. R. H. Moreton, and Mr Joseph Jones, and five Portuguese and Brazilian scholars, representing the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Wesleyan Churches.

[2] The only University in Portugal (then known as "The Schools") was founded as early as 1290 at Lisbon, transferred to Coimbra in 1308, removed again to Lisbon, and settled at last definitely at Coimbra by Dom João III. in 1537. The number of students—the future statesmen, theologians, judges, lawyers, *literati* of Portugal—increased from 960 in 1862 to some 1400 in 1901.

purchased, and where, it may have been, the mere facility of obtaining such books cheaply led to a revival of Biblical studies.

In keeping with these manifestations of awakened interest were the reports of school and church expansion from such friends as the Cassels of Oporto and Villa Nova de Gaya, Mr Moreton, Mr Jones of the crowded suburb of Bom Successo, Canon Pope of Lisbon, Senhores Dias and Carvalho, who gladly acknowledged how much they owed to the Society for the success of their work.[1] And not without significance was the increasing number of people who lingered before the depôt windows, and the greater facility with which the children read than in bygone years. Occasionally a colporteur was roughly used or imprisoned; once an evangelist's house was stormed, and all his Bibles, Testaments, and tracts were piled up in the street and burned; at Coimbra the Jesuits vainly urged the authorities to suppress both the Book and its messengers; but as time went on one heard less of lawlessness and priestly interference. Nor was the course of the agency affected by changes of Ministry, or thwarted by Infallibilist intrigues. Even such an event as the accession of Dom Carlos in 1889 passed unrecorded in the Reports.

At the beginning of 1890 our strained relations with Portugal in South-east Africa were reflected in the popular excitement against British subjects, which for a passing moment checked attendance at school and church, and involved the colporteurs as "friends of the English." The year was chiefly noticeable, however, for the publication of 80,000 Gospels—the largest number of any book ever issued from the press in Portugal[2]—and for the sinister

[1] In Portalegre in 1886 was one of the little groups of poor people who met for worship. Theirs was the first free contribution from Portugal; out of their poverty they spontaneously collected an offering of 4s. 6d.

[2] An edition of 100,000 was ordered in 1892, but a large portion of each issue was required in South America.

rumours of moral disintegration and social corruption, the revelations of which thoroughly shocked and aroused the public conscience in 1891. In that distracted time of financial crises, commercial ruin, and failing trade, when "men's hearts were full of sorrow and their minds filled with fears because of what was coming upon their country," it did indeed seem as though Portugal were awakening to the saving power of the Word of God. The sales of the colporteurs were doubled, the issues from the depôt were fully one-half higher, the circulation rose to a figure—some 19,800 copies—never reached before. That the bulk of these were half-penny Gospels denoted at once the desire and the poverty of the people. During the next three years—burdened as they were with depression and scarcity of work—the sales fell off, but in the new spiritual movement to higher ideals there was no deflection. "To-day," wrote Mr Stewart in 1895, "all over Portugal the work grows and increases."

In the Islands, too, the change, if more tardy, was not less distinct. At San Roque in Madeira, the district of the savage persecutions of forty-five years ago, the Gospel was preached amid scenes of enthusiasm in 1887. In 1888, when the acquittal of the preacher Mr H. Maxwell Wright, charged with "speaking against the religion of the State," was hailed as a victory over the forces of intolerance, the Evangelist Sousa e Silva made a stirring tour of the island, and meetings were held in villages and hamlets, in cottages and by the wayside. A little later some of the police came for Testaments, and made frequent visits to the depôt for instruction. In 1894 more advantageous premises were opened, and placed in charge of a new depositary.[1]

From year to year old Patrocinio or one of his colleagues tramped and cruised among the Azores. There also the

[1] Here, as in so many places, harm rather than good was done by the free distributions of injudicious visitors.

powers of sacerdotalism were clipped in the claw; and although in 1892 the depôt on San Miguel was closed, in the same year the first Protestant place of worship in the group was opened by Mr Maxwell Wright, under whose roof the congregation had first gathered.

In 1886 Antonio Leite, a colporteur-evangelist who had laboured among his countrymen in Illinois, was sent out on a two years' mission to Loanda, Benguela, and the other Portuguese settlements in West Africa. He visited St Vincent in the Cape Verde islands; but on the coast his health failed, and he had to return after eleven months. A depôt was started in St Vincent in 1889, and in the following year another colporteur, Moderno, landed in the islands. The people were poor, food was dear, but he sold well both in St Vincent and St Antonio, despite priestly denunciation of the books as "English, Protestant, and false." One glimpse of the hungry volcanic heights of St Antonio lingers in memory. Moderno journeyed fifteen miles to spend the Sunday with a few believers. The place was called Cova—an extinct crater on the top of a high mountain. The house was a wretched hut, "fit merely for poultry." Seventeen people came. The rain fell in torrents for forty-eight hours; the crater became a lake; the wind stripped the straw from the roof; they needed fire day and night to dry their clothes. Still, it was "a happy time," and Moderno would have liked to remain longer. "I read the Word; we then sang several hymns, and prayed. I have written this that you may sympathise with these people, and especially remember the poor believers among them in prayer to God."

To return again to Lisbon. For fourteen years or so Manuella, the Biblewoman—a true sister of Mrs Ranyard's Marian—had laboured in the homes of the poor, at women's places of business, in the hospitals and prisons, and had seen many wonderful instances of divine grace touching the hearts of lost men and women. She was now assisted by her

daughter, a girl of twenty. Many changes had taken place in the staff of colporteurs,[1] but there remained several who had grown grey and weather-marked in their calling. Old Patrocinio Dias, a pensioner after thirty years' service, was still at work a little in his beloved Azores. After twenty-eight years, age was beginning to tell on Figueiredo, but he still found friendly purchasers among the students and professors at Coimbra. Castro and Gonçalves had travelled Portugal for twenty-four years. The former, failing somewhat, was doing good work in and around Oporto; the latter, though fallen lame and half blinded by glare of sun on the limestone roads of Algarve, was still in his vigour.

The Spanish and Portuguese Agencies, as we have seen, were amalgamated in 1895; the consultative committee, which included Canon Pope and other old adherents of the Society, was revived at Lisbon, and a season of almost unchequered progress led up to the national celebration, in May 1898, of the discovery of the sea route to the Indies. Four centuries had passed since Vasco da Gama spent the summer night in prayer in the little seafarers' hermitage at Belem, before embarking on the adventure which was to open to Europe "the gates of the golden Orient."[2] An unequalled opportunity for colportage was afforded by the multitudes who thronged to Lisbon from all parts of the country; the sales from the depôt were the highest for over a score of years; and one of the contributions to the commemorative Exhibition was a selection of the Society's versions displayed in cases which bore the inscription: *Recordação do Centenario da India, Lisboa, Maio* 1898.

[1] The number varied from nine to twelve, and some were employed for only a part of the year.

[2] The magnificent church of Belem—at once a memorial of the expedition and a royal thank-offering—occupies the site of the hermitage founded by Henry the Navigator. Gama sailed on the 9th July 1497, doubled the Cape on the 20th November, gave Natal its name (in honour of the day) on the 25th December, and sighted the Malabar coast on the 17th May 1498. There he found "the Christians of St Thomas" preserving in its pristine simplicity the faith of the early Eastern Church (vol. i. p. 279).

Before the end of the following year Mr Robert Moreton, son of the Rev. R. H. Moreton of Oporto, was appointed assistant in the agency. Mr Stewart was now seventy-two. Since 1866 he had taken an active part in the religious life of Lisbon, and for three-and-twenty years had represented the Society. He had watched the rise and growth of a score of churches and the passing of many hundreds of Portuguese children through the Evangelical schools. At the close of 1901, when the aggregate circulation under his direction exceeded 260,000 volumes, he retired to a well-earned evening rest in his native Scotland, and the care of the double agency was assigned to his colleague, Mr Walker of Madrid.

The flags were flying when he left, for in 1900 another outburst of the old ecclesiastical intolerance had aroused the agency to redoubled exertions. On the 20th January the *Correio Nacional* gave expression to the enmity of the priests :—

"We call for the most energetic measures to restrain the miserable and scandalous Protestant propaganda which, with most cynical disregard for the laws of the country, and with an ardent zeal worthy of a better cause, is being carried on in this the capital of a Catholic country, a kingdom amongst all the most faithful."[1]

In 1901 a conference of prelates and clergy at Oporto decided to call in the secular arm to suppress heresy ; and the Bishop of Algarve, in a speech in the Cortes, passionately appealed to the Government to crush the Protestant movement. The clerical vote was strong, the Ministry shifty ; the result was a half-hearted surrender of the rights of the nation. An abortive attempt was made to suppress five of the large congregations in Lisbon ; colporteurs were arrested, but were speedily released ; in various towns vexatious prosecutions were carried through to a triumphant acquittal of the accused. The King, for his part, declared

[1] Who does not recognise the cry raised against Paul and Silas by the masters of the divining girl, when "they saw that the hope of their gain was gone"—*These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city, and set forth customs which it is not lawful for us to receive or to observe, being Romans*" ?

his adhesion to the *Codigo Constitucional*, which secured freedom of worship for all his subjects; and the press and the people gave proof that they were not in a mood to submit to Rome. On the instigation of a priest, a soldier who had joined an Evangelical congregation was summoned before his commanding officer, a fanatical zealot, and on his firmly refusing to go to confession was sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment, with bread and water on every alternate day. Other men who cared nothing for religion were passed over; this man who dared to profess faith in Christ and leave the Church of Rome was made an example. The indignation of the public allowed the military authorities no rest until the judgment was annulled, after sixteen days of the penalty had run. More forcible manifestations of the popular resentment of spiritual tyranny were the tumults and attacks of the mob on the Jesuit houses in the spring of 1901; and the comments of the press on these disturbances were a tribute to the uplifting influence of Bible-work in the Peninsula.

Strangely enough, in 1902, at the very moment when the cry of "false books" was once more raised to excite the ignorant to violence, and the enmity of the priests was chiefly directed against their own version (Figueiredo's),[1] an illustrated and annotated edition of the same version was begun in monthly parts by the Empreza da Historia de Portugal, under the official sanction of the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, who announced "one hundred days' indulgence" for every day in which the book was read.

Meanwhile the work of distribution was carried on with energy undashed. During the outbreak of plague the colporteurs visited the cordon of troops — men from every province—which lay for twenty-four miles round Oporto.

[1] Five thousand reference Bibles and 10,000 New Testaments, Figueiredo's version, were completed in 1898. In the next five years various editions, amounting to 37,000 Bibles, 37,000 New Testaments, and 67,000 Portions left the press, but many of these went overseas.

"Almost all heard the Gospel, and received a copy; and on the next Sunday the soldiers eagerly inquired for more Gospels." In 1902 as many as 350 places were visited—among them the University of Coimbra, where a new generation of students teased, "heckled," and bought from a new colporteur. The names of the old Biblemen had silently dropped from the reports, but their circuits had been filled by worthy successors. One of these was a young man who had found the truth in a copy of the Scriptures sold by Gonçalves; four others were the firstfruits of the Young Men's Christian Association which was founded in Oporto in 1895, and had since developed six flourishing Branches, with a membership of some 400. The opening of new schools and preaching-rooms at Figueira da Fez, Abrantes, Guimarães, Almada, and elsewhere was but one of the more obvious testimonies to the efficacy of their labours.

In the concluding year of the period the Bishop of Algarve made yet another effort to wrest the law to his purposes, and, incredible as it may appear, his denouncement drew from the Secretary of the Minister of State an order that the sale of the Scriptures without the authorisation of the Church of Rome was to be dealt with as a "flagrant crime." One colporteur was arrested and detained for ten days, and work in the diocese was prudently suspended for a time. But the Bishop's success was of brief duration. A turn of the wheel brought in a more liberal administration, and the illegality of overbearing ecclesiastics and subservient politicians received a check in the public declaration of the Prime Minister, Senhor Hintze Ribeira, that he adhered to the decree sanctioning the existence of all religious associations which submitted their fundamental rules for the approval of the Government.

As heretofore, hostility advanced the cause which it meant to prejudice. Each successive quinquennium in these twenty years showed a steady increase in circulation; and

the figures of the last exceeded those of the first by 45,000 copies of Scripture. Apart from those deeper personal changes effected by the Gospel, the extent to which public opinion had been illumined and liberated was indicated on the 3rd May 1903, when the remains of Almeida Garrett, the poet and statesman,[1] were transferred with martial and civic pomp from the Prazeres Cemetery to the great church at Belem. Ranked immediately after the squadron of cavalry and the military band, the Evangelical schools of Lisbon, with their banners and badges, were given the leading place in the procession of public schools. For the first time in Portugal, Protestantism was recognised as something more than "an English religion."

We pass beyond the limits of the Peninsula. In 1899 the depôt in the Azores was reopened by Mr Maxwell Wright in connection with his own mission work, and in 1903 a colporteur visited the islands. In 1901 successful colportage was effected in the Cape Verde Islands, where a little while before many of the people on Brava had been awakened by a number of young men who had returned from the United States. At the beginning of 1904 the sub-depôt at Madeira was closed. In that beautiful but benighted group it was ascertained in 1900 that in one parish ninety-five and a half per cent. of the population of 6000 were wholly illiterate.

From time to time, as they were completed, Portions of the new version of the New Testament had appeared since 1888. Hebrews had been issued, and the two concluding instalments—James to Jude and Revelation—were in their final stages when the British and the American Societies combined on a translation, based upon the Hebrew and Greek originals, and adapted to Portuguese as it is current in Brazil. A committee of Brazilians and foreigners was appointed, and the new undertaking was one of the events of the Centenary Year.

[1] Born February 1799; died December 1854.

Between 1884 and 1904 the Lisbon Agency issued 235,914 copies of Scripture for use in the kingdom. Of these not more than 14,640 were distributed gratis, and 221,274 were sold — 140,012 by colportage, and 31,470 to other societies (from 1891). It was a considerable achievement compared with the small reading population of the country,[1] but so far the enterprise of the Society had been little more than well begun in Portugal.

In addition to this work, large supplies were shipped abroad, chiefly to Brazil. From 1896, when regular note began to be taken of these exports, the number amounted to 178,951 copies.

The expenditure in connection with the agency amounted in the twenty years to £31,485 ; the receipts to £3775. The aggregate outlay since its foundation in 1864 had reached £63,132, and the receipts had come to £7777. Altogether, the Lisbon Agency circulated in Portugal and the island provinces since 1864, 372,377 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions ; and the aggregate of Portuguese Scriptures put forth by the Society in the course of its hundred years had been run up to 1,587,417 copies.

We resume the story of Spain at the amalgamation.

The return of Canovas to power in March 1895 seemed to give the signal for reaction ; and once more the widespread organisation of Rome,[2] with all its appliances of spiritual terrorism and civil oppression, was put into motion. The effect of that formidable engine was speedily felt throughout the kingdom.

"It is difficult for Englishmen to realise" (wrote Mr Walker, three years later) "the mediæval spirit of persecution which still rules in the Peninsula. The man who dares to think aloud on religious questions is in many cases a doomed man. Loss of *clientèle*, if he has a shop ; loss of situation, if he be

[1] In 1900 the population of Portugal, including the Azores and Madeira, was 5,428,000 ; in 1890 less than 20 per cent., including children, could read or write.

[2] According to an official report in 1896 there were 43,328 Roman Catholic clergy and 28,549 nuns in a population of something over 18,000,000.

an employé ; showers of obloquy, rupture of friendships and even of family ties, many indescribable annoyances and ostracisms—such are the frequent consequences to one who becomes an Evangelical and renounces Rome. The spirit of Torquemada is still at work, though his bones have lain mouldering for four centuries beneath the soil."

Spain had entered on the terrible experiences of national decadence. The rebellions in Cuba and the Philippines were draining the resources of the country. Men's minds were distracted by political and commercial problems ; women sat and sighed for their sons and husbands and friends—200,000 —drafted across the seas by conscription. Stagnation in trade, bad harvests, heavy taxation entailed scarcity of food and famine prices. The priests made fanatical capital out of every circumstance. Frost-nip, drought, loss of crops and beasts, sickness and casualty were ascribed to the reading of Protestant books. Catholicism was converted into a synonym for patriotism ; and the pulpit and the clerical press traced the rebellions and the disasters of the country to Masonic Lodges, Protestantism, Bible Societies—in a word to every movement supposed to be anti-Romanist in tendency. Strangely enough, in the teeth of this opposition, the circulation of the agency rose from 51,900 copies in 1894 to 75,800 in 1895, to 79,000 in 1896, to 90,000 in 1897 ; and in spite of the confiscations, lawless arrests, Bible-burnings, personal dangers, which they spoke of as *el pan de cada dia* (their daily bread), the colporteurs distributed their 31,000 to 36,000 copies a year, chiefly among the humbler classes, the artisans of the factories, and the peasants of the fields.

In 1898 the ultimatum of the United States gave the hierarchy their supreme chance of representing the war as a struggle between Holy Church and Protestantism. The colporteurs were hissed by the excited crowds, who bade them "go and sell their books to the Yankees." "I had to get out of Umbrete pretty quickly," wrote Marcial, the Seville Bibleman ; "the friars of Loreto were thundering forth that the Protestants ought to be exterminated." "We don't

want your books and prayers," was the cry in other places; "what we need is ships and guns to defend us from those Protestants who are assassinating us."[1] Yet even in this year of catastrophe and humiliation, when the cities of Spain rose rioting for bread, when her costly battleships lay burnt and sunk at Cavite and Santiago, when the last relics of the colonial empire of Charles V. and Philip II. were torn from her grasp, the circulation did not drop below 73,800 copies. It was not the people who hated the Scriptures. During the stirring weeks when the fleets were being equipped the colporteurs were at work among the troops and seamen. "I saw soldiers," wrote one of them from Cadiz, "seated in one of the public walks reading the Gospels, and three hours after, on passing that way, I saw them still reading. . . . Although I used to watch and see if any of our books were lying torn on the ground, I could never find one so destroyed." Between these young men going to the war, and the shadows of men who returned wasted with disease and dying, close upon 6500 Gospels were distributed in 1898.[2] And in a three weeks' tour that autumn among the farms, fruit-garths, and villages of the south, where the priests had made "a special campaign," no word was heard of a single Bible or Testament surrendered or destroyed.

When the war was over, and the eyes of thoughtful men were opened to the causes of their country's downfall, when immorality and mal-administration were deplored in Chambers of Commerce and meetings of manufacturers, when the Cortes rang with the plainest and strongest denunciation of corruption, the Church too raised her protest in a national congress, at which it taxed the influence and skill of Bishops and Cardinals to moderate the fierce reactionary

[1] As far away as the Canaries a bigoted and indiscriminate hostility involved both English and Americans, and greatly impeded Bible-work. In Madrid one of the Society's printers received notice to quit his premises because he printed Protestant books.

[2] Over 700 Portions had been sent to Barcelona in 1895 for distribution among the troops embarking for Cuba.

tendencies that prevailed. A memorial to the Queen Regent was drawn up, in which "the daily increasing shamelessness and effrontery of Protestantism" was classed with "the exhibition of obscene pictures." Regarding that significant manifesto, let the following facts serve as a commentary.

On the solemn fast of Good Friday that year (1899), while a continuous stream of people filled one of the chapels in Madrid, to venerate what was supposed to be the sacred features of the Saviour imprinted upon Veronica's handkerchief on His dolorous way to Calvary, innumerable hawkers thronged the neighbouring streets, offering "the face of God" (*cara de Dios*) in chromolithograph, in stucco, in metal. Groups of tipsy young fellows, with "the face of God" dangling from the brim of their hats or pinned on the lapels of their coats, wandered about, singing snatches of light songs; and from one lusty vendor of medallions of "the face" an observer heard the blasphemous cry: "For a *real* (2½d.) I sell God! God at a *real!* Judas sold Christ for thirty *pesetas*; I sell Him to you for a *real!*"

In 1900 a colporteur of Lerida heard that his child was dying. For ten hours, without a halt, the sorrowing father hurried back over the mountain roads, to find that he had come too late, and that the priest, deaf to all remonstrance, had buried the child *catolicamente* (with the rites of Rome) —he and his four acolytes, for the whole parish in their indignation had refused to take part in the cruel outrage. A month later, in Almería, at the other extremity of Spain, the son of another "heretic" died, and the *cura* refused him a grave in the only cemetery of the place. The colporteur appealed to the law, but the civil authorities were in league with the priest, and by order of the *alcalde* the boy was laid to rest in an unfenced strip of ground by the roadside.

In 1901, in the "month of Mary" (May), in the *pueblo* of Tembleque, Toledo, a Bible was publicly burnt in honour of the Virgin, "because it spoke ill of her"; and in November

the Madrid *Semana Católica* bewailed the decay of faith and the desertion of the once famous sanctuary of Our Lady of Guadalupe,[1] in these amazing lines:—

"Sad indeed it is to see how men of science and of art, and even the faithful themselves, neglect that precious storehouse of instruction and of joys inexhaustible. And this is the more to be deplored, seeing that the image there venerated is the *first* image of the Virgin of Heaven that ever existed on earth; a copy of the very Virgin herself; one which her well-beloved Son, the Redeemer of the world, blessed, saying: 'Whatsoever ye shall ask by mediation of this image shall be granted unto you' . . . Can there be a more flagrant crime than to leave this image abandoned and neglected?"

We pass from these aspects of a dominant ecclesiasticism to a picture of Spain which appeared in the *Liberal* of Seville in February 1902. Writing under date Ash Wednesday, Eusebio Blasco, one of the ablest of Spanish journalists, described the unhappy condition of his country in language which perhaps only a Spaniard could justify:—

"Never have we been better prepared to celebrate this day's service. Everything is in ashes; all reduced to dust; authority, patriotism, culture, art — everything that represents the strength of a people. Must we remember that 'dust we are and that unto dust we shall return'? It is not necessary. We already know and practise that truth too well . . . In the theatre the public cry for indecent verses, and are angry if they do not get them. In the streets beggars insult those who do not give them alms. . . . In some of the provinces anarchy is rampant. . . . Madrid amuses itself. The Government exists without governing. The masses have lost belief. Within forty days (*i.e.* after Holy Week) the bulls will again begin to kill the bull-fighters weekly, and the people will have the pleasure every Sunday of gazing upon blood."

Then followed the terrible *résumé*:—

"Eleven millions of Spaniards who neither read nor write;[2] 1790 convents; 300 bull-rings; 300,000 public-houses; a national monomania for fighting; a dagger in every pocket; in every poorhouse 2000 hungry folk seeking food; poetry scoffed at; ideals dead. . . . Ashes, dust! Everything reduced to dust. Everything in ashes."

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[1] Vol. i. pp. 255, 256 *n.*

[2] A decrease of about 16 per cent. in the number of illiterates since the reign of Isabella. Of good omen for Bible-work was the decree transferring to the Government the payment of schoolmasters' salaries, too often left in arrears by the municipalities, which spent the money on bull-fights.

Such the outlook in Spain a few months before the boy king Alfonso XIII. ascended the throne. In its sombre despondency no note was taken of the glimmer of light slowly kindling in the shadows; no thought was given to the score of Biblemen who day by day travelled through the oppressed land, scattering the Word of God among the people. In the last year of the period the sales by colportage reached their highest figure—88,102 copies. In these books, so often confiscated, torn to shreds, burnt as "acts of faith" —not in tumults and the stoning of religious houses and the wild clamour of "Down with the Jesuits!" and "Viva la libertad!"—lay the hope for the future of Spain.

Brief reference must be made to details in the work of the agency. In 1895, on the suggestion of Mr Stewart, a revision of the Society's folio edition of Valera was begun by Bishop Cabrera, Pastor Tornos, and Señor Aranda. Progress was impeded by illness and other causes, but in 1904 the printing of the Old Testament had advanced as far as Ezekiel xxi. 26. Towards the close of 1895 a depôt was opened in Barcelona under the shadow of the old prison of the Inquisition, and in the following year sub-depôts were started at Rio Tinto and the Spanish town of La Linea, outside Gibraltar. In 1898 Mr Walker was appointed joint agent with Mr Stewart, whom, as we have seen, he succeeded in 1902 as sole agent for Spain and Portugal. In 1899 the Gospel of St Mark (Valera) in Braille for the blind, was prepared for the press by Mrs Bell, an old lady residing at Lausanne. The other Gospels followed, but her failing sight brought her labours to a close in 1903. The depôts in Seville and Zaragoza were closed in 1903, as the results no longer justified the outlay; and in 1904 the Bible Kiosk at Gibraltar, founded in 1890, was transferred to a local committee.[1]

[1] In 1903 the Society lost an esteemed Vice-President in Dr Sandford, the Bishop of Gibraltar.

During the twenty years 1884-1904, the Madrid Agency circulated 1,302,961 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions in Spanish. Of these 17,266 were distributed gratis, and 1,285,695 were sold — 650,067 by the colporteurs of the agency, from twenty to thirty in number, and 363,825 were supplied to other societies, chiefly the Bible Society of Scotland.

The expenditure in connection with the agency during the same period amounted to £106,859; the receipts to £14,172.

In addition, consignments were despatched to agencies abroad—from 1899 onwards 302,600 copies, of which 38,673 were Portions in Tagálog, Bicol, Ilocano, Bisayan and Pangasinan, but these Philippine translations belong to another chapter.

From its foundation in 1868 the agency circulated in Spain a total of 2,286,023; the expenditure was £178,549; and the receipts came to £31,810. The aggregate output of Spanish Scriptures by the Society during its hundred years was 3,845,887 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions.

CHAPTER L

UNDER THE TIARA. (IV.) BELGIUM

We pass from Spain to a country scarcely less intensely Papal, though sacerdotal aggression had failed to usurp its civil liberties. For nearly ten years the operations of the Belgian Agency ran like a silver thread through a dark tissue of religious, political, and industrial crises. A confused succession of troubles, depression of trade, distress, agitation, strikes, riots (with pillage of factories, convents, and country houses) complicated the strife of Clericals and Liberals, while infidelity infected the rural districts, and a blasphemous socialism spread among the manufacturing and mining population the ominous gospel: "To make anyone believe in the omnipotence of a Divinity has become impossible. Our old world, now falling to pieces, knows of only one law—that of the strongest." The bondage of religion was coupled with the tyranny of capital; and as the sixtieth anniversary of Belgian Independence drew nigh, the thoughts of the working-man were engrossed in the dream of a millennium, brought about by universal suffrage, in which there would be an eight hours' day, higher wages, an equal division of property—"a new heaven and a new earth, independent of religion."

In the midst of all the turmoil and excitement the small but tried band of colporteurs pursued their calling, equally exposed to the fanaticism of the priest and the ribaldry of the freethinker; but even in these days of disorder the Gospel was justified in its messengers. If Delplace was hard set at

times to find a night's lodging in Flemish villages, Gazan's window garden flowered without hindrance in Louvain, and near Liège Napp was requested by the burgomaster to join the picked men who were striving to restrain the miners during the turbulent strikes of 1886. At Bruges Van Helden's Sunday gatherings were greatly blessed, and several of the regular attendants made public profession of their faith in the church of Aardenburg across the Dutch frontier; but the numbers who met had grown too large for his hospitable roof, and a house was taken for worship and the explanation of the Scriptures. In rural districts, and particularly in Flanders, where a few large landowners held the people in the hollow of their hands, and men were called upon to choose between the Word of God and the loss of farm, field, cottage, and even employment, the Bible was denounced as of old, and the *curé* followed the colporteur in his rounds: "The priest forbids us to read the Bible; the priest has taken away my book; the priest has burnt it;" but again and again one heard, as a sequel, of cases of sturdy resistance, of other copies purchased, of a single volume evangelising a whole village.

As in earlier years, strange instances were recorded of superstitions which threw back, some to the Middle Ages, others to a primeval heathenism. For ten centimes one might purchase a charm said to have been found in the Holy Sepulchre in 1505, and sent by the Pope to the Emperor Charles V., "when he set out for the wars." The fortunate possessor who carried it about — and few Flemish country folk were without it—was insured against sudden death by fire, water, or poison. "Believe firmly what is here written, for it is as true as the holy Gospel. Where this prayer is to be found in the house, no damage shall be done by thunder or lightning; and whosoever says this prayer daily, or hears it read, shall be forewarned of his death three days before by a sign from God." In the

wild country near Trois Ponts a colporteur saw in 1887 the remains of a fire recently kindled on a cromlech, and learned that it was still the custom to drive away evil spirits on St John's night by killing a rabbit and burning it on that old-world altar of the midsummer sacrifice. Shall we find in this survival and in a confusion of the two St Johns—the Precursor and the Evangelist—a clue to the magical properties of the Fourth Gospel? Some of its powers have already been noted. Add that it was the best "prayer" to rid one of mice, moles, and rats.[1] Attracted by a single verse, *John iii.* 16 *in Many Tongues*, one man at a fair secretly offered Napp twenty francs if he would show him how to call up evil spirits with it—"and, if possible, Moloch, to teach me where treasure is to be found." The colporteur undertook to show him, without charge, how to exorcise the evil spirit from himself, and where to find the pearl of price. The man listened thoughtfully, and took a New Testament away with him. A wood-cutter, who fancied himself a victim of sorcery, was advised to get a Gospel. He read it; the spell was indeed broken; he was led to the Saviour; and out of that reading came the evangelistic meetings at Herchies and Bois du Luc. Even the base uses of superstition were made the occasion of a saving faith.

We now take up the clue of the chief events of the period. In the spring of 1885 a noble selection of versions found a place in the International Exhibition at Antwerp, and the Society was awarded a gold medal for its services to civilisation and philological science. The Executive's permission to sell or distribute in the Belgian section was withdrawn, but a kiosk in the British department was made the centre of circulation, and *John iii.* 16 was displayed in one hundred and thirty-four languages. Fifteen hundred persons, including a number of priests, signed the visitors' book; 5124

[1] Here we touch one of the most curious relics of primitive symbolism. *See* "The Pied Piper" and "Bishop Hatto" in Baring-Gould's *Myths of the Middle Ages* and "St Gertrude" in his *Lives of the Saints*, for glimpses of the subject.

Gospels in fifteen languages were accepted, and 74 Bibles, 68 Testaments, and 42 Portions were sold. Save for a solitary journal, which conceded that the distributers of the Bible might be sincere in their folly, the press took no notice of the work.

In July 1887 the Belgian Evangelical Society celebrated its jubilee, and memory went back to the May morning fifty years before, when a peasant from Genval, near Waterloo, gazed in wonder at the rows of Bibles and Testaments in the Brussels depôt, whither he had been brought by a Protestant lady. "We want but one thing now," he said earnestly; "some one to explain the Word of God to us," and turning to Mr Tiddy invited him to come on the following Sunday; offered his house for the meeting; promised him a royal welcome to Genval—yes, with band and banner. Tiddy, who could not go, mentioned the incident in a letter to Mr Brandram. "You find a man," replied the eager Secretary, "and I will find the money." In a little while the man was found, and Pastor Vierne of Montbéliard ministered to the villages on the outskirts of the great battle-field. Seven months after that May morning some friends sat with Mr Tiddy in the little depôt garden, talking of the religious needs of Belgium, when the happy suggestion was thrown out: "We must form an Evangelical Society, and ask for help from believers in all countries." A plan of action was prepared without delay, and in the course of the first year five evangelists took the field. From the beginning the London Committee entered into hearty co-operation, and there is scarcely a Report which does not contain an acknowledgment from the Belgian Evangelical Society of unfailing and generous aid. Time, as usual, brought its changes. The congregation at Genval ceased to exist. The principal families emigrated to America, where they formed a Belgian Protestant colony in Wisconsin; the rest were dispersed, and later attempts to carry on the work failed,

until 1903, when the Evangelical Society (now the Église Missionaire Belge) planted the standard of the Gospel at Waterloo itself.

Quickened into enterprise by the Evangelical Society, the old Reformed Churches, which had hitherto no official connection, became in 1839 the Union des Églises Evangéliques Protestantes, increased the number of their pastors, and formed a Committee of Evangelisation, which founded schools and sent out pioneers of the Word. In 1889 the Reformed Synod looked back with thanksgiving on fifty years of fruitful labour, in which the encouragement and assistance of the London Committee had never been wanting.

So far, the success of these movements had scarcely extended beyond the working classes. There were now signs among the educated of a beginning "to disbelieve in disbelief"; and once more the attention of devout Roman Catholics was drawn to the neglect of books which had formerly been "the delight of the faithful." Lasserre's translation of the Gospels had sold widely, and this was followed in 1889 by popular and scholarly editions of a new version of the Psalms by Abbé Crampon, whose desire was "to restore the Psalter to its old place beside the Gospel in the home of every Christian family." A year or two later a cheap illustrated edition of the Gospels, intended partly for prizes in Catholic schools, was brought out by Abbé Garnier, who urged that the volume should be read again and again—"with faith, for it is the Word of God; with hope, it is the great means of salvation; with charity, from it the soul derives the love of God and of one's neighbour, love true and practical like that of Jesus." These prefaces seemed to announce a revival of the evangelical tolerance which marked the secular clergy in the days of De Sacy and Port Royal; but the unchanging policy of Rome still breathed the denunciations of 1838 against "a

Society that would rob them of all that was most dear to them—the precious deposit of their faith."[1]

In 1892 the Reformed Churches sustained a great personal loss in the death of Emile de Laveleye. Born a Roman Catholic, educated at the University of Louvain, distinguished in politics, economics, and literature, he was almost a solitary instance of a Belgian of education and position becoming a convert to Protestantism. Having married a Protestant lady, he was gradually led to accept the simple Gospel, and in November 1878 he entered his name as a member of the Free Church of Liège.

For the first time the agency was brought into contact with the royal house in 1893, when special copies of the Kongo New Testament, just completed, were presented to the King and the Count of Flanders, and his Majesty expressed his interest in the work of the Society and in the version prepared for the people of his African colonies.

At this point, half-way through the period, we may take account of the spiritual position in Belgium. Since 1884 the agency had issued 172,269 copies of Scripture. Of these 84,384 had been distributed by its staff of eight colporteurs, while 87,885 reached the people through many other channels. The Union of National Churches, the Belgian Evangelical Society, the Scottish Bible Society, the Evangelical Society of Geneva, all took part in the work of colportage; and in addition to these there were thirty-three Young Men's Christian Associations, which had organised a Military Commission to keep in touch with the army, and an increasing number of voluntary distributers. These last were a new feature in the Belgian system, and in one subsequent year they effected the circulation of some 4000 copies. The National Reformed Synod supported 27 churches and stations, and 20 places where the Gospel was regularly preached. The Evangelical Society had 29 churches and

[1] Lenten Charge of the Bishop of Bruges, 1838. *See* vol. ii. p. 216.

stations, and maintained 70 preaching-places and 62 Sunday schools, which included about a score of the "missionary" type introduced by Pastor Anet, and these gathered in hundreds of boys and girls, the children of Roman Catholic or unbelieving parents, who in many instances were led to the feet of Christ by the influence of their little ones or by the books they brought home. Finally there must be noted a Baptist church at Ougrée near Liège, several Darbyite communities in country districts, and the presence of the Salvation Army, which so far, however, had not broken fresh ground for itself.

The Antwerp Exhibition in May 1894 raised the year's circulation to 34,460 copies. Sixteen thousand five hundred Gospels, for the most part in Flemish, were distributed gratis at the gates; but the sales were very small, notwithstanding the interest taken by the priests and other visitors in the large variety of tongues exhibited in the kiosk. Three years later the figures reached the highest point in the experience of the agency—110,334 volumes. It was the Brussels International Exhibition. The King graciously accepted a copy of the Bible, and the Society was awarded a gold medal for its advancement of linguistic science. By a happy arrangement the kiosk was placed in charge of Mr Gaussen, a relative of the distinguished author of *Theopneustia*, who in the course of a four months' tour in 1896 had dispersed some 12,000 volumes in the villages of the Ardennes and Belgian Luxemburg. Priests in large numbers and many nuns accepted Gospels; schools and institutes, troops of boys and girls from all parts of Belgium, passed daily, and took Portions away with them; one deaf and dumb school came back a second time to return thanks for the books they had received; hundreds of copies were bought by soldiers of the detachments which changed guard daily. In all, 5072 volumes—chiefly the four Gospels and Acts—were sold; 73,760, nearly all Portions, were given away, and during

the whole time the Exhibition was open not twenty copies were known to have been destroyed. In the following January (1898) the jury at the Louvain Exhibition awarded a *diplôme d'honneur*, but free distribution was stopped in consequence of the disorderly conduct of bands of the University students. In May that year, under the heading "A Rain of Bibles" the Brussels *Gazette* reported the annual meeting of the Society at Exeter Hall, and gave the principal figures in its world-wide work; and in 1899 the Professor of Greek Literature in Brussels University selected the New Testament for his course of lectures. It was the first time the Scriptures had found a place in public education in Belgium.

At the beginning of 1900 the aggregate of Scriptures distributed through the Brussels Agency since its foundation in 1835 exceeded 1,000,000 copies (1,015,335).

Meanwhile universal suffrage had fallen short of the promised millennium. Free-thought, spiritualism, even magic, were on the increase among the working classes. The struggle for the schools broke out afresh,[1] and the aggressive spirit of the Clericals raised once more the question whether on political grounds it was not desirable to make a clean sweep of the Church of Rome. A curious fact in connection with these popular movements was the publication by the Socialists of the *Life of Christ according to St Matthew* (Ostervald's version), in which the divine birth, the miracles, the Resurrection, and other passages were omitted and abridged, though a note pointed out that the complete book might be had of all Protestant booksellers. From day to day the agency's operations proceeded with unfailing regularity. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg remained inaccessible, though the Roman Catholics themselves complained of the hindrance they suffered from these

[1] Religious instruction in communal schools was made compulsory unless parents applied for exemption. In Brussels, where there were 3768 children in these schools, 2460 obtained exemption, notwithstanding the threat that they would not be admitted to the First Communion.

local restrictions. Elsewhere, in spite of Bible-burning, insults, and threats of violence, the range of the colporteurs was extending both in Flanders and the Walloon provinces; while nine new chapels, opened within three years, bore witness to the earnest faith which animated those who had accepted the Word.

Suddenly but very peacefully, on the 17th March 1902, Mr Kirkpatrick, the *doyen* of the Society's agents abroad, died in Brussels at the age of seventy-seven. Sixty years had passed since he first entered the Society's service; for eight and thirty he had managed its affairs in Belgium. When he took office the year's sales did not reach 5000 copies; in 1900 they exceeded 28,000, and in all 789,000 volumes were distributed under his supervision. His last editorial work was the preparation of a new edition of Pastor de Jonge's Flemish New Testament, which, after appearing in Portions, was published complete in 1890. The good pastor, who had devoted himself to the Flemish population of Brussels, died in 1898. Mr Kirkpatrick began his revision in 1901, and when his call came the last sheets were ready for the printer.[1] As a final token of affection and esteem, three hundred gentlemen followed his remains from the house, which was draped in mourning, after listening to addresses delivered by Pastor Anet of the Belgian Missionary Church and the Rev. John H. Ritson, one of the Secretaries.

It was a touching coincidence that John Ham, the English colporteur, who was lying ill at Antwerp, expired a few hours after hearing of the death of his old chief. For twenty-one years Ham had worked among the ships of the world in the busy port ("The very stones round these docks," said an old captain, "must know you by this time"), dis-

[1] The volume was seen through the press by Mr Matthyssen, who had been referee and adviser throughout. In 1895, it may be added, Mr Matthyssen had edited, with alternative readings, the definitive edition of the Vulgate Flemish Testament.

tributing the Scriptures in a score of tongues, grasping in Christian fellowship the hands of English and American, Japanese and African, winning from bluff sea-dogs such a testimony as the weather-beaten ship-master's: "I will pay you with pleasure. I have watched the work of the Bible Society in many ports, and it is my well-formed opinion that this work is the best that is carried on for the benefit of seamen."

The agency was annexed to that of Paris, under the care of Pastor Lortsch.

In 1903 colportage attained its highest figures—13,847 copies a year, and the last of the Biblemen of 1884 withdrew from the field. Deboulle and Hardy, Delplace "the wicked sorcerer," and Van Helden who planted the Flemish churches at Courtrai and Roulers, had long been dead. Gazan resigned in 1902, seventy-six years old, thirty-seven years a colporteur. In 1903, after twenty-six years' service, Napp left to younger men the pilgrimages to Our Lady of the Sarthe at Huy (where Peter the Hermit lay five centuries in his grave before his ashes were removed to Rome), and the fairs at the old abbey of St Hubert the Hunter, whither packs of hounds and numberless dogs were brought to be sprinkled with holy water in the saint's chapel as a protection against hydrophobia. And the veteran of the staff, ex-artillery-sergeant Stynders, who had given forty-six of his seventy-nine years to the cause, was placed in charge of the depôt at Antwerp—within sound of the famous bells, which ring to-day as they rang when the scaffolds of Alva were drenched with the blood of "heretics."[1]

In this concluding period of its history the Brussels Agency distributed 397,828 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions.[2] From its foundation in 1835 the aggregate was 1,114,172

[1] Stynders died in August 1904.

[2] Several thousands of these went as grants to schools, poor congregations, newly married couples, children at confirmation, prisoners, families bereaved by colliery disasters, etc.

G. T. Edwards.

copies. These were the seed; the visible fruit was the churches, stations, preaching places, steadily increasing in number; the scores of Sunday and missionary schools attended by some thousands of Protestant and several hundreds of Roman Catholic children. From 1884 to 1902, when the Brussels accounts were merged in those of Paris, the expenditure was £33,151, and the receipts were no more than £5311.

In the Centenary Year Belgium might have claimed to be the most thoroughly Papal State in Christendom. France, as a Jesuit preacher declared, "was not nearly so Catholic a country"; Spain itself, with one "religious" to every 750 of the laity, and one monastic house to every 15,000 inhabitants, came a tardy second. Since 1880 the number of conventual houses had been doubled (3000), and the inmates had increased from 25,000 to 40,000—one "religious" to every 150 laymen, one monastery or convent to every 2750 of the population. Compare with these forces the whole body of Protestants, estimated at 25,000; bear in mind the obstructive powers of illiteracy, of intemperance and dissipation, of irreligion — and what faith, what prayer, what sacrifices were needed for the task still to be accomplished. Illiteracy! "Even among the educated classes the reading community formed a very humble minority,"[1] while in the population at large—6,750,000 of people—26 per cent. of those above fifteen years of age were unable to read or write; and in Flanders, where in the labourer's cottage one seldom saw a book at all, where in the farmhouse the "reading" consisted of ghost stories, tales of brigands, two-centime newspapers sold under the censorship of the clergy and the lord of the manor, the proportion was 42 per cent. Intemperance and dissipation! There was a tavern for every thirty-six people, for every thirteen men; over £3 a head was spent annually on strong drink; 20 per cent. of the death-rate was

[1] Smythe, *The Story of Belgium*, p. 336.

attributed to the abuse of alcohol ; every Sunday, and often during the week, thousands of men gathered for gambling games, thousands of others for pigeon-matches, cock-fighting, archery ; one village could boast of thirty-two *Kermesses* in the year—a *Kermesse* for each street.[1] Irreligion ! The free-thinkers had "their churches, their baptisms, marriages, burials, feasts, magazines, lectures, co-operative societies, etc.," and the enormous power of unbelief was organised with extraordinary ability.

Yet, by the power of the Gospel, what a change had been effected !

New Year's Day is closing in cold and darkness on the streets of a colliery town. The families of two pastors are sitting in the fire-light round the Christmas fir-tree. Faintly in the distance begins a sound of singing. It draws nearer until they can distinguish the words :

> Who, who are these beside the chilly wave
> . . . . . .
> Happy now and evermore,
> Washed in the blood of the Lamb !

There are three loud knocks at the door. A score of singers—working men, coarse of feature, but young and full of enthusiasm—have come to wish their pastor a happy New Year.

Thus far at least have we got since villagers met in the woods by lantern-light and sang the Psalms of David to song tunes.

[1] *The Belgian Messenger*, 1904, p. 12.

CHAPTER LI

TURKEY AND GREECE

We pass to Constantinople and the great agency which contained within its bounds localities among the most memorable in history — Constantine's capital, the first Christian metropolis; Greece and the Ægean Isles and the poetic shores of old Ionia; the birthplace of the Homeric sagas, the cities of St Paul's journeys; Bithynia; Mysia, where on the plain of Troy the Apostle saw in sleep the "man of Macedonia"; Macedonia itself, save for the districts left to sister societies;[1] Albania beyond the Pindus mountains, which he crossed by the Roman military road, the Egnatian Way, when he preached the Gospel "round about unto Illyricum."

Year after year Dr Thomson or his assistant Mr Sellar visited each of the districts in this complex region of fermenting nationalities and racial and religious antagonisms. Constant vigilance was needed to maintain the legal rights of the agency, for even in the capital the books were seized in the hands of the colporteurs, while in the provinces the men were exposed to the caprice of local authorities and officials and the malevolence of fanatical Greek priests. Aggression was promptly resented by the British and American Ministers, and as promptly checked, for a time at least, by the Government.

[1] The American Bible Society still occupied Eastern Roumelia, the ancient Thrace, with its Pauline cities, Philippi, Amphipolis and Apollonia. The National Bible Society of Scotland laboured in Southern Macedonia, and in 1885 the Committee transferred to it their depôt at Salonica (Thessalonica), long supervised by its agent, the Rev. Peter Crosbie.

The Constantinople staff consisted of seven to twelve men who worked in the city, in the surrounding villages, and a day's journey inland along the Asian shores of the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora. Throughout Dr Thomson's tenure of office they had their weekly Bible meetings, to which they brought friends and inquirers—Greeks, Jews, and Moslems. Whatever may have been the fruit of their labours, it was noticed in the later eighties that the Turks, especially in the capital, were held aloof from the Christian Scriptures by the stern prohibitions of their Mullahs, and that 1890 was marked by another publication of the Koran in Turkish.[1]

In the spring of 1894 the Secretary, Mr Sharp, returning from Etchmiadzin, and Mr Victor Buxton, a member of the Committee, visited Constantinople, and disposed of various questions which had arisen in the agency. Epirus was transferred to the Greek division under Dr Kalopothakes, and Cyprus to the Egyptian Agency. Shortly afterwards the operations of other workers in Turkish territory gave occasion for a discussion with the American Bible Society on the subject of overlapping and waste, and a working arrangement was made on the spot, by which the agent of the American Society undertook responsibility for the western side of the Bosphorus, the shipping in the Golden Horn (among which the Scriptures were sold in thirteen languages), and the portion of the vilayet west from Silivri. This division of the field, however, never received the sanction of the Committees in London and New York.

In the following July Dr Thomson tendered his resignation. *Doyen* of the Society's agents abroad, he had reached the age of seventy-three, had just completed his thirty-fourth year of service, and had supervised the circulation of upwards of a million copies of Scripture in more than a score of languages. Interest in his edition of the Albanian Psalter

[1] A translation appeared in the critical year 1864, but had been suddenly withdrawn from circulation.

detained him until its issue in 1895. In February 1896 he was succeeded by the Rev. T. R. Hodgson of the Persian Agency, and at the end of that year his veteran assistant, Mr Sellar, retired.[1]

Mr Hodgson's appointment fell upon the edge of a stormy time. The civilised world had been horrified by the Armenian massacres of 1894 and 1895. As in the earlier crises, the divided interests of the Great Powers left the Sultan master of the situation. The measures of reform yielding to the pressure of England were followed in 1896 by another outbreak of ferocity, and in August the streets of Constantinople itself were reddened with ruthless slaughter. The colporteurs escaped unharmed, even unthreatened; and indeed there were observers who thought they perceived the blessed influence of their work amid these scenes of savage fanaticism. So many Armenians were rescued by compassionate Turks, it was hard to doubt that "where the hunted Christian found safety, the Christian Book had already found entrance." The prices of the Armenian Scriptures were reduced for the Armenian refugees, and some thousands of copies were distributed gratis, chiefly in Bulgaria, among the destitute.

Meanwhile the Christian population in Crete had risen against their Moslem oppressors. The spectacle of an island in the throes of anarchy, of ravaged villages and burning monasteries, merciless butchery and bloody reprisals, cried to Christendom for intervention. Greece alone lifted a hand; but before we touch on the sequel of that gallant enterprise we must speak of other events in the agency.

In Bulgaria, as we have seen, the fourth period closed amid Government suspicions and a strong reaction against Protestant Missions. The Sclavic Manual of Church Lessons supplanted the Scriptures in the schools, and the circulation of the Bible was resented as "foreign proselytism." In

[1] Dr Thomson, who was enrolled as an honorary Life Governor on his retirement, died at Bebek, Constantinople, 15th January 1899, aged seventy-eight. He left the Society a legacy of £100.

September 1885 came the sudden revolution which united the two Bulgarias, followed by the fierce campaign provoked by Servia. The Scriptures offered at half price and even gratis were refused by the troops as they went to the front; but if the Archbishop of Sofia was gratified by the success of his tracts against the Society's books, the colporteur soon found his welcome by the bedside of the sick and the wounded.

The spirit of the time was in strange contrast with that of 1874, when the labours of the Society were hailed as the foundation of a Bulgarian literature. An evil breath of materialism and infidelity had passed over the country. Education was tainted. "The Moslems themselves are more believing than many teachers, lawyers, and officials." In the autumn of 1888 the whole influence of the Bulgarian Home Office was used to enforce an Encyclical of the Exarch against Protestantism and colportage. But these tactics recoiled on the plotters. A priest was sharply fined for assault; the Prime Minister, on hearing of the movement, ordered all civil sanction to be withdrawn; and the secular press called upon the Church which banned as Protestant the only Bulgarian Bible they had to produce an Orthodox version. Long afterwards, however, there were places in which the sale of the Scriptures were stopped by local officials acting on instructions from the ecclesiastical authorities alone.

Notwithstanding the prevailing fanaticism and unbelief, not a few faithful schoolmasters and devout priests encouraged the work of the agency, and in 1890 the Tirnova district teachers resolved at their annual meeting to re-introduce the Sclavic and Bulgarian New Testament into their schools. A fresh impulse was given to the circulation in 1892 by the issue of a pocket Bible printed with the Committee's consent by the American Bible Society. Ministerial changes led occasionally to a more enlightened view of education, and in 1894, though the New Testament was excluded from the

ordinary schools, the Bulgarian Bible was used by scholars in the secondary and normal.

So the struggle went on with socialism and sacerdotal hostility. Each of the three colporteurs had his horse and waggon, which enabled them to pass into the heart of the country, often alone, sometimes two together for safety in the snow-storms of severe winters. In many places they found an earnest desire among the Jews for a German missionary; and if at times they were ill received, they also came upon godly innkeepers who would make no charge for man or beast.

In the closing year of Dr Thomson's agency an outbreak at Lompalanka, on the Danube, revealed the intensity of Orthodox bigotry. The little Baptist place of worship was wrecked, and the veteran colporteur, Jacob Klundt, who for over twenty years had lived blamelessly among the people, was roughly handled as a leader of the small community. So embittered indeed were many of the Greek clergy at this time that they proposed to form a Bible Society of their own, in the hope of ousting the "English heretics."

Turkish suspicion opposed the vernacular Scriptures in Albania; Macedonia and the West were almost closed by lawlessness and brigandage. In 1884 the Rev. Gerasim Kyrias, an associate of the American Mission, was stationed at Monastir, his native place, as superintendent of colportage. He was captured in November near Koritza (Gortcha) by a band of thirty highwaymen and carried into the mountains, where for forty days he was kept blindfolded and with ears stopped with wax. The sum of £400 demanded for his ransom was raised by friends of the Society, but he never recovered wholly from the exposure and privations of that dreadful winter.[1]

The transfer of the Salonica depôt to the Scottish Society

[1] £48 was contributed by the American missionaries and their workers. Monastir and Koritza are both on the old Egnatian Way, by which no doubt St Paul travelled to Illyricum.

allowed operations to be concentrated further inland. Macedonia was linked up with Albania by means of a depôt at Monastir; and not without a touch of heroism Tsiku ranged over Albania to Delvino, Avlona, Elbassan, and Tirana, while Jovancho of Uskup risked the robber-haunted roads and crossed the Shara Tagh to Prisrend, the scene of Sosnovski's mysterious disappearance. In spite of the opposition of the Jesuits, and the subservience or timidity of the Vali, Dr Thomson established a depôt, with two colporteurs, at Scutari in 1886, and Seefried sailed up the lake to Podgoritza in Montenegro, which had just been transferred from the Austrian Agency. He was courteously received by the Governor, but was promptly escorted to the frontier in consequence of orders from headquarters. Thirteen years later, in the autumn of 1899, through the good offices of Mr Kennedy, British Minister at Cettinje, Prince Nicholas of Montenegro graciously accepted a copy of the Servian Bible, another was presented to the Metropolitan, and colporteurs were allowed to enter; but it turned out that the book trade in the Principality was a monopoly in the hands of a bookseller in Cettinje. With him an arrangement was made by the agency, but not more than one or two dozen copies a year were afterwards sold on commission.

In South Albania, where the Janina depôt was supervised by the American Presbyterian missionaries, the work proceeded slowly, with one, two, or three colporteurs. In consequence of the growing interest of the Albanians in their native Scriptures, the central depôt was removed from Monastir to Koritza in 1890. The depôt in Scutari was closed in 1893, but to the surprise of the people who thought that the Popish city had been given up in despair, Tsiku appeared with his "heretical books." In January 1894 died the Rev. Gerasim Kyrias, at the age of thirty-five, and in the course of that year South Albania, the ancient Epirus, was added to the districts of Greece.

The life of the colporteurs was full of uncertainties and extremes. One bishop denounced, another welcomed them. Here they were protected by an upright Vali, there arrested like common felons; in one village mobbed, spat upon, refused bread; in another befriended by a kindly priest or schoolmaster. Once, when Tsiku was stopped by the day of rest among the wild hills near Lake Ochrida, fifteen brigands attended the service to which his host had invited Moslem and Christian. The sales were not large, but the increase of the staff to seven men indicated steady progress in a difficult country.

In a matter of version work, Deuteronomy, Proverbs, and Isaiah, by Christoforides, were published in Tosk, the South Albanian dialect, in 1884. At the request of an Albanian committee of Gheg and Tosk Christians and Moslems, anxious to promote a national literature, editions of St Matthew and the Psalter in the "new" Albanian character were undertaken by Gerasim Kyrias. The MS. of the Gospel was seized by the Turkish police, but Matthew and Genesis were eventually printed at Bucharest in 1889, and the prohibition of the authorities appears to have been made more stringent. In response, however, to a powerful appeal through Sir Philip Currie, the British Ambassador in 1894, liberty to print the whole of the Albanian Scriptures was freely granted, and the Tosk Psalter, revised by Kyrias, was seen through the press, as we have noted, by Dr Thomson in 1895. The following year unhappily the appointment of a new Censor gave rise to fresh obstruction, of which we shall see more in the sequel.

Undeterred by capricious opposition, seizure of books, and illegal imprisonment, colportage was carried on from Ismid, the historic Nicomedia, along the coast of Bithynia (Kastamuni) to Sinop. Further inland the field was occupied by the American Board of Missions. In 1854 and again in 1874 the Committee had been brought into touch with "the

Bible-readers" about Ismid and at Ada-bazar. Now, fourteen years later, one heard of "the Gospel peace" reigning in the once turbulent Greek village of Sardovan, near the latter town. "When the teacher preached occasionally in the Orthodox Greek Church the Protestants went to hear him, while the Orthodox frequently attended the Protestant meetings for praise, prayer, and reading of the Scriptures." In Dr Thomson's closing years the most determined efforts were made by officials to exclude the Scriptures from the largely Moslem population, and the repeated orders of the Grand Vizier forbidding interference were serenely disregarded by Vali and Governor.

From Smyrna, which was also a centre of the American Bible Society, the circulation of the Scriptures was extended, with slow but sure progress, along the Græco-Turkish coast northward to the Dardanelles, southward to Scala Nova, the nearest port for the ruins of Ephesus, to Budrum, the famous Halicarnassus, and to St Paul's Attalia. In 1885, on the death of the Rev. W. Charteris, who succeeded Mr Spence, Misaelides the physician was appointed sub-agent at Smyrna; and as time passed, colporteurs stationed at Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes divided among them the storied isles of the Ionic seaboard from Scarpanto to Samothrace, which St Paul saw looming over the lower hills of Imbros. One of their constant cares was to introduce the Scriptures into the Greek Orthodox schools, and in a large measure they succeeded. If in Chios the Archbishop's hostility caused some book-burning, the Metropolitan of Mitylene and the Bishop of Lemnos were lovers of the Bible. Among the semi-savage islanders of Thasos the colporteur barely escaped with his life; the Samiotes petitioned the Society to leave old Pilo, the Spanish Jew, among them; and among them he closed his labours in 1893. In no district of the agency except Greece did the circulation show a more regular advance than along this edge of Asia; and one of the

symptoms of the effect of the Word of God was the growth of preaching in the Greek Church in Smyrna.

All through these years the work in Greece was a prolonged struggle with ecclesiasticism (which would neither sanction the Society's Modern Greek version nor produce one of its own), with ignorant and fanatical priests, and too often with prejudiced magistrates. In some extreme instance of abuse of power, the religious freedom not only of the Society but of the Greeks themselves was vindicated by an appeal for redress to higher courts; but as a rule the colporteurs patiently awaited for God's good time. On the other hand, as at Patras, a Scholarcheion withstood an intolerant priest; an Archbishop, as at Missolonghi, publicly commended the study of the Scriptures, or prelates, like those of Syra and Chalcis, approved of the Word of God in the tongue of the people, while in several places the Scriptures were readily purchased, and the colporteurs were invited by the priests themselves sometimes to explain the Gospel read in the churches.

The withdrawal of the American Bible Society in 1886 left the whole of Hellas to the agency, and Dr Kalopothakes entered into fuller connection with the Society. He strengthened the staff by the employment of Christian students from Athens University and Gymnasium on vacation tours; operations were conducted on a wider scale, and increased issues measured the range of activity. Schools and villages were visited in the Ionian Islands and the Cyclades, those rocky clusters so alive with ancient and mediæval legends and beliefs. At the risk of a roofless night on the slopes of Pelion, the Word of God was carried among the farmers and wandering shepherds, the rude and superstitious folk of Thessaly. The most prosperous and enlightened provinces of Greece were in the Morea, and there, particularly in the south-east, the old Laconia of pithy speech, the colporteur found people the most friendly and

accessible. Everywhere watch was kept upon the schools, but the use of the Scriptures varied with each Director of Education, and the influence of the Greek Synod was persistently adverse to the Modern Greek version. Even in the case of Queen Olga's kind thought for the prisons, it was through the same influence that the New Testament in Ancient Greek alone was allowed to be distributed.

An intense nationality, more political than religious, threw the Greek on the side of his Patriarchate. His ancient Church moved him as the last representation of bygone national glory. The Orthodox faith was a vital bond between the Greeks of Hellas and their fellow-countrymen under the shadow of Islam. Everything "Protestant" or "Evangelical" was regarded as a menace to the unity of his race and a danger to popular aspirations.

So matters stood when in April 1897 the Cretan episode precipitated war between Greece and Turkey. The colporteurs had been withdrawn from the island, and precautions were taken for the safety of two in Epirus and two more in Thessaly, where work was practically brought to a standstill. As Mr Hodgson steamed down the Gulf to Volo, Moslem villages were already blazing under the shells of the Greek fleet. He arranged for a liberal distribution of Scriptures among the troops. Supplies for the sick and wounded were accepted by Queen Olga, who graciously took personal charge of them. But before it was possible to move to the front, ambulances from the lost field of Larissa and crowds of panic-stricken fugitives streamed in to Volo. Kalopothakes set out for Phersala, where a gallant stand was made; then the Turks advanced on Velestino, and "the Bible depôt, on which we had hoisted the English flag, seemed the one peaceful refuge amid that contagion of terror." Between twelve and thirteen thousand copies were distributed during the war and afterwards in the hospitals; and while the Athenian papers warmly appreciated

the action of the agency, some referred, with little satisfaction, to the fact that the only spiritual sympathy and aid extended to the soldiers who fought for Greece came from "this foreign Society."

Out of these disasters emerged what seemed the beginning of a brighter religious outlook. The circulation doubled the average of the preceding decade and a half; over a dozen colporteurs were afield; a Biblewoman was employed at Piræus and Athens; the Society received its first Greek legacy; Sunday observance and the spread of the vernacular Scriptures were discussed in conversation and the press. Strangest sign of all, the Orthodox party, provided with a gift of 20,000 francs for the purpose, undertook at last a version of their own in Modern Greek.

Then, with a sudden turn and through influences too complex and obscure to unravel, the national spirit was thrown into a ferment of suspicion and resentment. A proposal from Queen Olga for a "paraphrase" of the New Testament in the daily speech of the people was rejected by the Holy Synod. The *Acropolis* remonstrated; the whole Greek Church confirmed the Synod's decision. The "Queen's Gospels" were printed and circulated privately. In 1901, on the appearance of a "frankly vernacular" translation of St Matthew in a Greek newspaper, the storm broke and extended to the royal version, which was declared to be part of a Russian conspiracy against the language, Church, and nationality of the Hellenes. Serious riots occurred at Athens; the offices of the *Asty* were wrecked;[1] and the Government, acting on the suggestion of the Holy Synod, prohibited the use of any Modern Greek translation of the New Testament, and the police received orders to confiscate all copies exhibited for sale. In the Army, the Navy, the schools, active inquisition was made for the forbidden books. These editions had previously formed the bulk of the agency

[1] The Society's depôt opposite was left quite unharmed.

sales, and the figures dropped at once from 18,000 to 8000. General consignments to the agency were detained at the Customs. Only the New Testament in Ancient Greek and a few Old Testament Portions in Modern were in circulation. From the arrest of a colporteur it appeared that the currency even of the last was in jeopardy, while the animus against Bible-work was seen in Dr Kalopothakes being twice ordered to leave Janina at the instigation of Greek ecclesiastics.

In such regrettable circumstances, it was some alleviation to remember at the Centenary that since the publication of its Modern Greek text in 1810, under the special sanction of the Œcumenical Patriarch, the Society had issued upwards of 957,000 copies of Scripture in the only language understood by the great mass of the Hellenic people.[1]

In spite of priestly intolerance and political passion every five years in the twenty displayed a widening circulation of the Word of God in the Greek division of the agency. It rose from 37,000 in the first five to 75,000 in the last, and amounted in all to upwards of 210,000 copies.

In Bulgaria a more worthy spirit manifested itself on the accession of Mr Hodgson. Poverty and infidelity were two evils never far to seek, but restrictions were withdrawn from the schools and barracks; and though the teachers were often materialists, the Scriptures were placed more freely in the hands of the young. Once more the weather-vanes spun round. The Bulgarian Synod announced in 1900 the preparation of a version to replace "the incomplete Bible printed by the Protestant Societies," — which the Orthodox were hereby forbidden to use. Barracks and prisons were again closed, and most of the fifteen Bulgarian

[1] In 1903 upwards of 10,000 New Testaments were sold to Greeks outside Hellas. Inquiries in 1899 as to the need for change in the Society's Modern Version elicited a variety of opinions. In 1901 the Committee projected a revision of St Luke by Mr J. Gennadius, Greek translator of Dante and sometime Greek Minister in London, but the matter was deferred for more auspicious conditions.

"school circles" became hostile. In that year the Bulgarian Evangelical Society, celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, recalled, as it had recalled in 1881, "the mighty factor" which the distribution of thousands of copies of Scripture in cities and villages "had been in shaping the national destinies of Bulgaria," and voted yet again "their deep and lasting gratitude to the Bible Society."

About this time an annual subsidy of £25 for Bible-work was granted to the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, stationed at Rustchuk. Of the four veterans in Bulgaria, Grünberg the Jew passed away in 1893. His comrade, old Klundt, retired at the end of 1900, after twenty-seven years' service, and was succeeded by his son-in-law; Heringer died a week after his last journey, in December 1901;—he and Klundt both "Germans of the good old Lutheran stock." A hale old man, Christian Krzossa held his post to the end at the Rustchuk depôt.

During the twenty years upward of 58,600 copies were circulated in Bulgaria. The total distribution of Bulgarian and Sclavic Scriptures throughout the agency exceeded 129,500 copies. A Revision of the Bulgarian Bible was begun in 1897, and the Book of Proverbs appeared; but further progress was stayed in 1901 by the death of Dr Long and Dr Riggs, who had been associated with the version since 1860. An edition of the New Testament (10,000, with 10,000 of St Matthew), corrected by the Rev. R. Thomson, son of the old agent, left the press in 1903.

After a brief interval of more hopeful work, affairs in Macedonia and Albania gradually darkened into an anxious and critical condition. In 1898 it was decided to publish the Gospels and the Psalms in Tosk in the "new" Albanian character. The former were ready for the press, 3,000 of the latter printed, when the sanction of the Government was summarily refused. Repeated applications and the good offices of the British Embassy proved alike fruitless.

Albanians, both Christian and Moslem, were eager to have the Scriptures in this form, but the Porte would approve of nothing that might foster national aspirations.[1]

The state of the country became deplorable. The Government, suspicious and alarmed, seized books and licences and deported the men. Brigands infested the mountain roads. Revolutionary "committees" terrorised towns and villages, threw the women's trinkets into the melting-pot, and extorted toll from the scanty pay of the colporteur. The Macedonian insurrection completed the disorder. Wonderfully preserved through all, five colporteurs with Mr George Kyrias spent the latter part of 1903 in distributing a free grant of Scriptures and the English and American relief funds among the starving peasants of the burnt and ravaged districts. Yet even in these evil years there was much to encourage effort.

The circulation, which included Macedonian Rouman, sold among the ancient Vlach settlements of shepherds, muleteers, and carriers, amounted to some 50,000 copies during the period.

At Constantinople, the office, which had long adjoined the storerooms in the Bible House at Stamboul, was removed with excellent results to Pera, north of the Golden Horn. No trouble occurred during the Greek war, and afterwards the men were free to visit the shipping, the bazaars, khans and cafés of the capital, and the villages on the east and western shores of the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora. Every other year colporteurs travelled through the province of Kastamuni, not wholly without friction with the authorities.

Along the Ionic coast and among the Isles steady progress was made under the busy Misaelides. The intolerance of the Greek Synod and the Patriarch of Constantinople made

[1] This moody distrust of everything national was pricked by the mere name "Macedonia" in the New Testament. In 1903 the Censor demanded that in all Scriptures circulating in Turkey "Macedonia" should be changed to "the vilayets of Salonika and Monastir"!

little impression here. The Bishop of Rhodes continued hostile, but the prelates of Mitylene, Lemnos, and Thasos gave the work their sanction and commendation. Note in passing this hopeful contrast in Patmos, where the monks of St John may often be met carrying round the shrined relics of the saints. Here are four embarking for Samos with the "holy skull" of Thomas the Apostle, to prevent the spread of phylloxera among the vines. Meanwhile the students in the new seminary, on the spot called Apocalypsis, are reading the New Testament, and the teachers advise the people to buy the Modern Version for themselves.

Nearly 75,900 copies were circulated in these Ionic regions, and 125,000 in the Constantinople district, during the twenty years.

Brief reference must now be made to the large islands, Cyprus and Crete. In Crete about 9700 copies of Scripture were circulated down to the rising of 1896, and despite occasional displays of intolerance many among the clergy and laity became friends of the cause. The island was added to the Greek division, and was visited more than once by Mr Hodgson and Dr Kalopothakes, who were cordially received by the Metropolitan, the Bishops of Retimo and Canea, and the Abbot of Arcadion, not to mention a Moslem mayor who asked for supplies in Turkish for Moslem school-children. The repressive decrees of the Synod and Patriarch gave an anxious moment, but the Government regulation which prescribed the sole use of the Athens edition was withdrawn, and the Society's books were allowed free entrance into the schools.

In Cyprus the course of affairs was uneventful. The island prospered under English rule, and every peasant had his plot of land; but education did not spread rapidly, and when Mr Storey retired, and Cyprus was transferred to the Egyptian Agency in 1895, only 5 per cent. of the

whole population could read. From 1878, 43,500 copies of Scripture—four to every reader—had been circulated. The field was left fallow for a year; the easy terms on which the books were sold were raised, and in 1897 work was resumed with a Greek and a Syrian colporteur, whose mission was largely to awaken the people to the contents of the Scriptures. The Bible story was read to Greeks and Moslems in the clubs, cafés, shops, and markets of the towns, and weeks were spent in the outlying villages. Now and then a Greek priest stirred up opposition, but before the end there was a club, which included the Bishop and several of the clergy, formed in the neighbourhood of Limasol for Bible study and discussion. Something under 6000 copies were sold during these closing years.

The circulation in the whole agency in this fifth and last period was upwards of 826,000 copies, in forty languages, among which it may be noted that Greek, Ancient and Modern, and Turkish in Greek characters counted for 456,600 copies; Hebrew, Judæo-Spanish and Judæo-German for 65,000; and Osmanli for 58,000. Over 801,000 copies were sold, and 435,600 of these by colportage.

In a total expenditure of £123,668, £47,944 went for colportage, and £29,903 for the production of the Scriptures. The cost of the latter alone was not covered by the receipts, £27,431.

As we pass southward to other scenes, the eye dwells with delight on the marble domes of St Sophia. When Justinian left his basilica, thirteen hundred years ago, dedicated to the Divine Wisdom, the Eternal Word, the Second Person of the Trinity, the worship of the ancient world had contributed to its splendour the splendour of many illustrious shrines—columns of Isis and Osiris from Heliopolis, of Diana from Ephesus, of Pallas from Athens, of Phœbus from Delos, of Cybele from Cyzicus. For four and a half centuries the

great Christian Church has now been the great Mosque of Islam. Still there may be read in Greek uncials over its main entrance the everlasting promise, the promise made to Moslem and Christian alike: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out and find pasture."

CHAPTER LII

THE EGYPTIAN AGENCY. (I.) THE NILE VALLEY

THE work in Egypt was centred in a new agency in the closing weeks of 1883. Under their strange flag with its cross and its arabesque of Moslem prayers, the fierce tribes of the southern deserts were preparing for a descent on the rich cities below the Cataracts. Already two Egyptian armies had been overwhelmed and slaughtered, and in his mind's eye the Dervish Sheik who had proclaimed himself the Messiah and Regenerator foretold by the Prophet saw, in misty geography, "Europe, Rome, and Constantinople," the empires of unrighteousness, shattered and overrun by his victorious hordes. In the villages of the Lower Nile, in the crowded towns of the Delta, the smouldering fanaticism of the people was ready to burst into flame. To them the coming of the Mahdi meant the sweeping of the infidels out of Egypt like chaff, and the resurrection of the glory of Islam.

Meanwhile the plans of the agency were taking shape. In the long stretch of the Nile Valley between Cairo and Assouan the organisation of the American Mission could not be rivalled in efficiency or economy. "To help their work was to do our own in the best way." The Committee undertook to pay a subsidy of £95 a year, and to allow a discount of 25 per cent. on the selling price of all Scriptures supplied from Alexandria; and the publications of the British and American Bible Societies shared the shelves in the handsome mission premises at Cairo, and the seven other depôts served by nine depositaries and colporteurs.

An immediate field for the agency was found in Alexandria, the Delta, Port Said, and the Suez Canal, while, for the near future, there were the regions beyond the First Cataract. Indeed the first step was taken in that direction by the printing of Professor Lepsius's version of St Mark in Nuba or Fadidja for the Mohammedans in and around Dongola; but fourteen years were to elapse before the Word of God had free course in Nubia.

The Dervish swarms had closed in on Khartoum, "the last stronghold of civilisation." Some months later the boats of the Nile Expedition were ascending the Cataracts. Fifteen hundred Testaments had been distributed among the troops embarking in the Thames and at Portsmouth. Fifteen hundred more were distributed in Alexandria, Cairo, and Suakim; and at Port Said men of the Black Watch exchanged the worn copies which they had carried through the Afghan campaign. January 1885 opened with a vision of new Christian centres at Suakim and Khartoum, of vast horizons; but the fatal words "Too late" were written across the gallant attempt at rescue. On the morning of the 28th the advance troops in the first steamer from the relief column ran the gauntlet of the rifle trenches at Omdurman, and saw the Arab banners tossing over masses of the enemy near Khartoum. The place had fallen two nights before, and the soldier-mystic, the heroic Bibleman who turned for solace to the Psalms and for counsel to Isaiah, was dead. Then followed the retirement of the forces, the evacuation of Dongola, and abandonment of the Suakim-Berber railway. The presence of the troops at Wady Halfa saved Egypt from invasion, but the whole of the Soudan was lost for a time to the Church of Christ.

We shall now follow the course of events in the various divisions of the agency. New premises were rented in Alexandria from the monks of St Katharine's, the ancient convent founded by Justinian among the cypresses and

almond-trees on Sinai, home of the celebrated "Golden Codex." At Cairo Mr Klein, the discoverer of the Moabite Stone, took charge of a depôt in the Flagalla, near the Whately Schools; but a year or two later it attracted many more visitors on a better site in the Boulevard Abdul Aziz. Here as elsewhere efficient men were hard to come by; at no time were there many; but they were rapidly moved from place to place as need required, and alert management made up for lack of numbers. Brief mention must be made of some of them. Besides the young Englishmen, Mr James Gilder and Mr R. G. Brunton, who was given the direction of the colporteurs, there was Theodor Irrsich, a German of extraordinary linguistic ability, whose knowledge of the original Bible tongues and a ready use of English, Arabic, Italian, French, and Modern Greek made him invaluable for version and depôt work; there was Yusuf-en-Nasrawi —Joseph of Nazareth—one of the Palestine men, who had been arrested, imprisoned, and banished by the Turkish Government, and who became a familiar figure in the streets and bazaars of Alexandria; and lastly, in Stephanos Maqar, sometime a Coptic priest, Mr Weakley had an embodiment of the cry of Isaiah, "Send me." Him we shall hear of at Jaffa, at Hodeidah, at Suakim and Aden, at Harar and in Somaliland, at Khartoum and Metemma on the Abyssinian border.

It was doubtless to the continuance of the British occupation that the agency owed the tranquillity which enabled it to make a steady advance. The Coptic Church assumed a more friendly attitude. The Patriarch himself, who rebuked one of his priests for destroying a New Testament, urged the people to buy, and bought for his schools the Gospels and Epistles in Coptic and Arabic. Among the Mohammedans the change was even more striking. The haughty contempt and threatening hostility of "the slave of Allah" vanished, and when the Scriptures were refused it was often with civil

excuses or kindly words. Moslem children were freely sent to the Christian schools at Cairo. Gospels were sold without hindrance or insult in the hashish dens, coffee shops, and gambling and dancing haunts of "The Garden," one of the lowest and most vicious spots in Alexandria. Purchasers were found even in the tents of the Bedouin—"the vultures of the Libyan Desert"—at Bab-el-Arab; and copies of the Word of Life were carried home to Siwa among the ruins of the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon and the oases on the confines of Tripoli. The work in the city increased till the stir and discussion caused among the Mohammedan population evoked an authoritative warning against "the books of the Giaours"; and then the check was but temporary.

In 1889 a grant of £15, which was continued for ten years, was voted to Mr Spillenar of the Netherlands Mission at Kalioub for colportage in the towns and villages of the Delta; and in 1890, with the hearty concurrence of the Customs authorities, Mr Gammage, who had served at Port Said, was assigned the care of the shipping at Alexandria. This was the beginning of excellent work among the fleets of colliers and merchantmen; and when the colporteur was recalled to Port Said in the following year, it was taken over by the Church of Scotland Harbour Mission, with the help of a subsidy of £50 from the Society.

By the end of the tenth year 65,000 copies (29,000 in the first and 36,000 in the second quinquennium) had been circulated in this division of the agency. "A Mohammedan's buying a Bible without solicitation, though still infrequent, was no longer an extraordinary event." There was a marked and increasing demand for the Osmanli Scriptures, and in Egypt there were few Turks outside the number in the Sultan's service. On all sides the immense improvement effected by English administration was acknowledged, and the material welfare which accrued from Christian methods induced respect for Christian belief.

Supplementing the agency work, but distinct from it, were the operations of the American Mission, whose resources the Committee had helped to complete by the addition of Bible-women. New books had also been prepared. The New Testament, Genesis and Exodus, the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were in circulation for the blind, among whom there were native Bible-teachers and schoolmasters. Printed in Hebrew character, Van Dyck's Arabic version appealed to great numbers of Jews in Syria and Arabia as well as in Egypt, and St Matthew, the Epistles to the Hebrews, the Psalms and St John, transliterated by Theodor Irrsich, received so eager a welcome that the Pentateuch was put in hand, and was published in 1900.

Surely in these years, when the chambers of imagery, the porphyry coffin and gilded mummy-case gave up their dead, and the Pharaohs reappeared on the earth, Christ had come again to Egypt, though not as a little child.

The Rev. F. F. Adeney succeeded Mr Klein at Cairo in 1894. In Mohammed Ali Street, to which the depôt was now removed, the curiously stocked windows and the Arabic Testament chained to a small reading-desk in the arcade drew many from the constant stream of passengers to and from the Citadel. At Alexandria, too, a text-roll in large type, which hung at the door of the depôt, was read daily by dark-eyed Arabs, and one at least transcribed the whole of it for home reading. The purchase of Bibles instead of Portions, the eagerness for books which dealt with points of religious controversy, gave some measure of the spirit of inquiry that was abroad. A year or two later, neither the news of the terrible Armenian massacres nor the arrival of hundreds of refugees[1] excited a reflex of fanaticism in the peace of Egypt.

[1] Both at Alexandria and Cyprus free distribution was begun among the poorest of them, but this work was taken up by private persons. One of the fugitives from Constantinople, Reupen Oomidian, afterwards became a colporteur at Cairo.

Then in 1896 the pulses of every worker in the agency were quickened by the second Nile Expedition. The reconquest of the Soudan was begun at the moment that the Italians, bent on extending the bounds of Eritrea, were defeated by Menelik at the disastrous battle of Adowa. Sir Herbert Kitchener's advance saved Kassala from the Dervishes; the occupation of Dongola was hailed with joy by the Nubians; and when Abu Hamed was captured, Berber evacuated, and the Dervish hordes were broken and scattered at Atbara, no sound in Egypt recalled the vain dream of a triumphant Islam. Omdurman fell. On the 4th September 1898, in front of the ruined palace at Khartoum, the troops held their funeral service in memory of Gordon. "Abide with me," his favourite hymn, was sung, and the Highland pipes poured out their coronach. A year later, the Khalifa, finally overthrown in Kordofan, met his death on his prayer-carpet, and the rescue of the Soudan was accomplished.

In the course of 1898 the Rev. A. A. Cooper had been appointed assistant agent,[1] and Mr Weakley, whose health had failed, was able to leave for change and rest. After Omdurman, Stephanos Maqar hastened to Wady Halfa,[2] visited the Dervish prisoners (of whom only two could read), and was distributing his second case of Arabic Gospels, when all Christian Missions, the Bible Society among them, were for a time excluded from the Soudan by the decision of the Sirdar. At the close of 1899 Mr Cooper went to Omdurman, and obtained permission from Sir Reginald Wingate to resume the work which had been begun thirty-three years before.

The Nuba Gospel of St Mark, printed now in Arabic

[1] Mr Cooper had had a brilliant career at Aberdeen University and New College, Edinburgh, and had spent three years in the Bengal Mission of the English Presbyterian Church.

[2] After nine years' service Stephanos had resigned in 1896, but could find no peace for his spirit until he returned a few months later.

script, was put into circulation on the reaches of the Upper Nile, where the boatmen had long forgotten the meaning of the chant with which they timed and lightened their toil. "Ele-aza!" (*Eloi-Iesa*, Lord Jesus) had come down from the devotion of far-off Christian centuries; the prayer had ceased, but the boat-song still rang along the river of many memories.[1] A shop was taken in the main street of Omdurman, and Stephanos began his work. In every house he was received pleasantly, and all praised God for the victory of the English. "Do not think," said one woman, "that we abandoned our Christian faith. God forbid! Every day I prayed for deliverance." Later, as he went along the Nile, he saw a man who had lost his right foot and left hand. He was one of Gordon's runners. "When I reached Khartoum," said the poor Arab, "the Dervishes were besieging the city. They seized me and searched my clothes. Then they took my staff, broke it, found the letter, and forthwith cut off my left hand and my right foot. The Government now provides for me." And Stephanos gave him a Gospel gratis.

Among the strangers who came to the depôt were men from Berber and Dongola, Senaar, and remote places in Kordofan. From the Tells of Nineveh, that wondrous city of the winged stone bulls, came Abd-el-Ahad, an excellent colporteur for the steamers and ferries, the bazaars and palm-sprinkled villages. Once when some inflammatory printed matter fell into the hands of the authorities, a surprise visit was made to the depôt, but a strict search proved the open and simple character of the Society's work. Stephanos opened another depôt at Wad Medani, one hundred and thirty miles up the Blue Nile, and colported up the White Nile as far as Duem and Koweh. Everywhere traces of the Khalifa's tyranny; everywhere rejoicing that it had been brought to an end.[2]

[1] *See* Archdeacon Moule's exquisite poem in *Songs of Heaven and Home*, (1905).

[2] Whole towns and villages had been destroyed; enormous tracts, once fertile

Then the long Bible tours began: from Berber to Kassala with a desert caravan; with camel and asses, through thorny scrub, parched tracts, strange settlements, to Gedaref, and at length, through forests running with wild beasts, to the old station of the Pilgrim Mission, Gelabat or Metemma—a hundred grass huts among lemon and huge cotton trees at the foot of a mountain. One of the many stirring Bible journeys of which the world has heard so little! There was the battle-field of Atbara; the village "a ruin strewn with the bones of the slain, and the trees about it burnt." On the way to Gedaref—their clothing and their bodies torn by the thorns of the dense scrub—the travellers met a lion in the way. It was an hour before midnight. They fired the dry grass to scare him; "but never a bit did he care for our fire, and we were obliged to keep up the flames till five next morning, when the Lord delivered us from that lion." Further in the south they came to a straw village, where the people fetched water from a well three hours distant. "Why live here then?" asked Stephanos. "My friend, the love of home is very strong," replied the sheik, who bought the Psalms and the Gospel of St Matthew for two piastres and a skin of water. "Didst thou come all the way hither," asked the mamour of another place, "on account of this Book only?" "Yes; on account of this Book only." At Asar, where there was a solitary Christian, an Arab tested him. "This is four piastres," said the crafty man, tendering an old gold coin. "Not so," replied Stephanos; "it is worth 100 piastres." "Verily thou art faithful, and thy religion is genuine"; and other gold coins were brought and valued. And the Arab was pleased, and ever more pleased, and took him to his house. "He offered me a dollar for valuing the money, but I said, 'I cannot accept the money. It were better for you to buy a Bible.' He then said, 'Then take

fields, were barren wastes or jungles of thorns and towering grass. An attempt to estimate the population in 1903 showed that in twenty years of Dervish strife and misrule a population of eight and a half millions had been reduced to 1,870,000.

the dollar for one.' But this I refused, saying I would take no more than the price of the Bible. This pleased him more, and he said, 'This day shalt thou abide with me in the house.' 'That will I accept,' said I."

As the period closed, the restrictions on Missions in the Soudan were withdrawn, and Moslem children began to attend the Christian schools. The man from Nineveh plied diligently between Omdurman and Khartoum, where also there was a depôt; and "Send-me," a welcome visitor, travelled among the southern villages, where contentment and prosperity had taken the place of poverty and wanton cruelty. "What shall I do with this?" asked one to whom he offered a Gospel. "It is the Injil of our Lord Issa." "Peace be unto Him!" said the man, and took Stephanos to the house of the sheik, saying, "This man has the Injil." The sheik bade him welcome, and gave him coffee; and thereafter Stephanos displayed a Bible to him, and he took it and kissed it, saying, "Peace unto thee, O great Book!" and gave Stephanos a portion of bread, and yet again coffee. Then he asked the price of the Bible. "Its cost is seven piastres (1s. 6d.), but to thee I give it freely." "Nay, nay, I will take it at its price," and he paid the seven piastres. He then called together all who could read, and thus twenty books were sold. And when Stephanos had given God praise, and would have gone his way—"It cannot be," said the sheik, "that thou shouldst depart this day," and he took an oath that he should not suffer him. So Stephanos remained with him that day, well content; and paying the price himself, he gave the sheik an Arabic Testament vowelled; and the sheik was pleased greatly, and bade Stephanos read to him from the book.

In these four years 5794 volumes, chiefly Arabic portions of a higher value than those circulated in other parts of the agency, were sold in the Soudan.

Meanwhile the work in the Cairo and Alexandria districts

had prospered greatly. The sick and wounded from the Dervish battle-fields were visited in hospital, and many of the men, too ill to speak much, brightened at the sight of the small Testaments. Miss Law of Mansurah began her distributions among the employees of the Egyptian railways. Mr Spillenar of the Kalioub Mission left for home invalided, but new labourers had entered the field—the North Africa Mission, which with the help of the Society opened a depôt and employed a Biblewoman at Shebin-el-Kom in the Delta, and the Egypt Mission Band, a number of young Englishmen, "free-lances of the Gospel," who had initiated a movement that recalled the early days of the China Inland effort. In 1900 Mr Gammage returned to the work among the shipping, which had so long been directed by the Rev. W. Cowan, minister of St Andrew's and consular chaplain ; and shortly afterwards an additional helper was appointed. In that year the circulation in Alexandria alone was 4000 copies —one to every seventy-five of the population ; in 1884 the circulation in the whole of the Nile district had been only 4980. The people themselves noticed the change. "Do you know aught of the Imâm 'Ali?" a Moslem asked. "There is one thing in his book of which I would tell you. El Imâm 'Ali long ago predicted that when the appointed time came, El Qoran would be done away with, and the Cross would be uplifted. Methinks the time draws near, for now I see that many Moslems are buying the Bible."

Working on its own lines, the American Mission was still aided by grants for Biblewomen and depôts. In 1901 their depôt sales exceeded 1500 volumes ; thirty-one colporteurs disposed of 13,500 ; and 4600 copies, of the value of £225, were purchased from the agency. The agency's circulation was 19,500 copies, so that 34,500 volumes of the Holy Scriptures found their way in that year into the homes of the Nile Valley.

Early in 1902, after prolonged negotiations, an arrange-

ment was made by which the two great cities, Alexandria and Cairo, were recognised as common ground, Upper Egypt was assigned to the American Bible Society, and the whole of the Delta, or Lower Egypt, was thrown open to the direct work of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Seven colporteurs were attached to five depôt centres in the Delta—Mansurah, Tantah, Zagazig, Benha and Damanhour—and 13,250 copies were sold in the course of a year and nine months.

In the twenty years of the period 197,500 copies were distributed in this division of the agency—40,300 in the third, and upwards of 92,000 in the fourth quinquennium.

As we pass from the birthplace of the Septuagint, the city of Origen, Athanasius, Hypatia, Cyril, we see the *doyen* of the native staff, Joseph of Nazareth, selling in markets and streets which he has haunted for fifteen years. He has earned undisputed entrance to the buildings and schools of the Greek and Coptic patriarchates, the railway stations, and large cafés. A younger son of his is assistant depôt-keeper; his daughter, for some years a Biblewoman, is the wife of Dimitri, one of the Delta colporteurs, who also belongs to the town of the Lord's boyhood.

Port Said! "There went the ships." From the East and from the West they moved in endless pageant along the water-way of the desert—merchantmen, men-of-war of the Great Powers, wheat ships from India, gay Orient, Clan and P. & O. liners, troopers, colliers, emigrant steamers for the Antipodes, ships from Sarawak, Brazil, and Japan. They crossed the obliterated route of the Exodus. Sometimes a ship of the mirage sailed silently beside them along the shimmering yellow waste. From their decks one saw the wonderful bird-life of the lagoon of Menzaleh—thousands of pelicans fishing in white crowds over the drowned sites of ancient cities, flocks of flamingoes rising in rose-red clouds

and flushing the grey waters.[1] In the five years 1884-88, nearly 16,600 passed through the Canal. The electric light quickened the rate of traffic. The ships went on by night and by day. When at length the yearly transit showed some signs of decrease, the difference in numbers was more than balanced by the greater tonnage.

In 1894 the flags of sixteen nations fluttered around Port Said. 3389 vessels used the Canal; 409 called at the Port. Of these 3798 sail, over two-thirds flew English colours. German, French, and Dutch ships were counted by the hundred; Austrian, Italian, Norwegian, Russian, Spanish, and Ottoman by tens; Portuguese, American, Egyptian, Chinese, Japanese, Brazilian and Swedish by units. The estimate of this floating population ran into hundreds of thousands, and they spoke between thirty and forty languages. Upon what other spot on the planet could a colporteur have found so varied a concourse, such recurring opportunities?

In 1885 Mr W. H. Taylor, first-class petty officer in the Royal Navy, was appoined at Port Said. For nineteen years the interest of his life was in that wonderful procession of the world's seafarers. A former shipmate, Mr Job Gammage, joined him in 1888, and when Gammage left to begin work among the Alexandria shipping, Mr James Gilder succeeded him, until the autumn of 1893. Then Mr S. J. Brown, another young Navy man, filled the vacancy, and by this time Mr Gammage had returned.

What vital issues might depend on a simple word dropped among this drift of people one might never see again! In the earlier years rebuffs, abuse, discouragements there were in plenty. Most keenly the colporteurs felt the contrast between the devout Russian seamen and many of their own unbelieving countrymen. But as their "straight" and

[1] The idea of "blushing" was expressed in the ancient hieroglyphic system by the signs for "flamingo" and "water."

kindly talk struck home, as Bible and Testament were read, as the Gospel-wardens of the Canal became known, the friendly nod, the grateful handshake, the "God-speed" became more frequent. Ship-captains were soon well enough pleased to pay for their men's books: "Yes, they will keep out the drink — and here's a subscription to help on the work." The penny Testaments were a great boon. Many bought them to give their ship-mates. Not seldom the fly-leaf recorded a pledge of abstinence from drink. Small money entries began to appear in the colporteurs' diaries— "7½d. for the Society," "Captain gave 5s.," "4½d. from an officer," "received this month from six people, 17s. 5½d." In 1892, £8, 5s. 9d. was contributed on steamers. Now and again the Bibleman's hand was caught by some bronzed stranger (a stranger no more!), who had bought a book in such a year, and who now told with dim eyes of a marvellous conversion—for every conversion is a marvel.

Dutch and German ships were often provided with the Scriptures by the owners. A boarding fee of 2s. was charged by Spaniards; everything political or religious was excluded from the French by an officer at the gangway. Occasionally there were unpleasant incidents, but on more than one Austrian deck the colporteur was welcome; and after many brusque refusals Turkish captains bought, read, and opened their ships. Even among the Mecca pilgrims[1] — Persians, Uzbek Tartars, people from Mesopotamia, Turkey, North Africa (one ship of Tunis brought about 400)—a considerable number of Arabic and Turkish Gospels were sold. When cholera broke out among them at Jeddah, as it frequently did, the crowded sleeping-places were visited in the grey dawn by "the gatherers," and the dead were collected from among the sleepers. Of the thousands who set out for the holy places of Islam, "it was well understood

[1] The pilgrimage to Mecca, it was believed, secured for every "slave of Allah" a place in Paradise.

among the pilgrims that only half their number would return."

Then there were the native coasters, sailing vessels from Damietta and the Greek Islands, Syrians, Levantine traders, Cardiff colliers; there were the quays, the boatmen, the Arab coal-heavers, the shops, the outlying hamlets, the navvies on the Canal banks, the labourers who lived on lighters and dredgers. Once a week prisoners were visited in the jail. Moslems and others stopped at the depôt windows, and read the open page of the Word of God in their own tongue. Missionaries, outward or homeward bound, came in to rest, sang a hymn, and joined in prayer. There were pleasant meetings with young Biblemen and agents going out to the Eastern stations, with secretaries returning on furlough; or some great apostle of the South Seas—Chalmers or another—grasped the humble colporteur's hand and bore witness to the priceless missionary work of the Society. Through the kindness of the English owner of the premises, a more spacious depôt—a "House of the Holy Books"—was opened in 1893 opposite the public gardens in the Place de Lesseps.

An effort to supplement the work at Port Said was made from Cairo. Ismailia and Suez were visited in 1886. At Suez, Bernhard Paschkes, an old colporteur, who had settled there as a watchmaker, took charge of a small stock of Scriptures till his death in 1888. In that year Mr Irrsich and Stephanos made a journey to Kántara, south of the swamps of Menzaleh, where the caravans cross the Canal to and from the Eastern Wilderness. It was the old "way of the Philistines," probably the very route by which the sons of Israel went down to buy corn—the route, centuries afterwards, of the Flight into Egypt. Thirty miles out in the desert, it touched Katiyeh, the oasis of the eastern branch of the Awlad Ali, some of whom could read. Katiyeh was visited twice; Kántara thrice, and each time the people

there, chiefly Moslems, sent pressing requests that a mission school should be opened among them.

At the date-gathering in 1889 Dr Harpur of the Church Missionary Society, Mr Irrsich, and Colporteur Ibrahim visited the Sheik of the sheiks in Sinai. Musa Abu Nuseir received them hospitably, shared with them the bread and salt of brotherhood. They were made free of Wady Feiran, with its leagues of date palms and its rocky sides honeycombed with old tombs and hermitages. While the Doctor attended to physical ailments, the others told the story of God's love for mankind; in the cool of the day companies sat and listened to the Scriptures. But in all the five tribes of the Towara[1] there was not a man, not even the great Sheik, who could read. "What can we do? We have neither books nor teachers. Who would come to us in the wilderness to teach our children? We are also far too poor to pay a schoolmaster."

During the first half of the period at Port Said 37,341 copies of Scripture were sold in thirty-six different languages —32,644 on shipboard in the course of 14,922 visits. And still the work expanded, so that the sales of the next five years amounted to 46,500 copies or 35 per cent. of the circulation of the whole Egyptian agency. Now and again a selection of books in Arabic, Croat, French, Greek, Italian, English, Serb, and German was put on board a Bible boat, and one of these old Navy men spread sail, right through Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, to Port Tewfik (Suez), calling at every station, house, lighter, dredger, and labourer's homestead, were it but "a flat-roofed hut and a barking dog under a palm-tree."

The political and commercial changes of the world were curiously reflected in the Canal register and the Bibleman's

[1] Towara, "Arabs of Tor," the ancient name of the Sinaitic peninsula. One of the five tribes, the Sibyaned Deyr, "Children of the Convent," were descendants of Dacian slaves sent by the Emperor Justinian to serve and guard the Convent of St Katharine. Their old Christianity was lost in the Arab conquest.

diary. In 1897, for instance, three Chinese ships passed through the Canal, and thirty-six of the large steamers bore Japanese names, were manned by Japanese, and flew the red disc of the Rising Sun. Then there was a marked falling off in the sale of English Scriptures. Time was when the proportion of the English to the foreign Scriptures sold at Port Said was as 75 to 25 in the hundred; now the figures were 4399 foreign to 2802 in English and Welsh. Since 1890 the crews on English vessels had been more and more largely made up of foreigners—Italians, Scandinavians, Lascars, Malays, Chinese; and though about 80 per cent. of the total sales was made upon English decks, it was in twenty-seven languages.[1]

In Port Said the steady progress of the cause gave rise to an outbreak of Popish bigotry in 1898. The Jesuits made a bonfire of the Scriptures; they attempted to drive the colporteur from the cafés; they excommunicated some of their own people. The police were next induced to take action, and Daûd Masaad (a Syrian Bibleman who had been driven by persecution from Sidon) was forbidden to read the Word of God aloud in public or to go out with it at night. Finally he was arrested, tried on false charges, and acquitted; and the Superintendent of Police was summoned to Cairo and sharply reprimanded for illegal interference.

Of late the sight of the Yellow Flag had not been rare. It now became only too familiar. Through the greater part of 1901 few of the passing ships could be boarded, and in 1902, when cholera swept through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, there were only six weeks in which the port was free from quarantine restrictions. Yet large sales were effected, and happily the last year in the period was the brightest in the record. The colours of eighteen nations floated across the desert. Of 600 vessels that called and 3440 that passed

[1] At this date (1899) the Scriptures were sold in fifteen languages on German ships, in ten on Austrian, and in eight on Russian and Dutch.

through the Canal, 3175 were visited, and 11,098 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions in thirty languages were sold afloat and ashore. During the twenty years, 126,541 copies of the Word of Life were distributed by the staff at Port Said—a substantial figure; but how small a fraction of the millions of men and women who had passed in that time under the eyes of the Society's watchers!

CHAPTER LIII

THE EGYPTIAN AGENCY. (II.) PALESTINE AND ABYSSINIA

WHILE Egypt under British rule was rising into prosperity and contentment, an oppressive maladministration reduced Syria and Palestine to abject misery. Missionary enterprise and every undertaking for the well-being of the people met with the sullen hostility of the Ottoman Government. In the pashalik of Lebanon, "protected" by a Christian Governor since the massacre of 1860, all schools but those specially privileged were peremptorily closed. Later, the same jealous intolerance swept the Hauran of its schools, and warned off every Christian agency. "Commerce does not flourish," wrote Mr Weakley during his visit in 1894; "there is no market for the produce of the land, no demand for it at the ports." Silk from Lebanon, fruit from the coast, were the chief commodities; Jerusalem also furnished about 135 tons of "objects of veneration"; but for three years there had been no demand from Europe. "Were it not for pilgrims and travellers during two or at most three months of the year, there would be a great dearth of money"; but these did not help the poor peasant to satisfy the inexorable tax-gatherer.

When one turned to these lands, it was as the children of colonists seeking the home village in the mother country. These were the doors through which the Son of Man used to come and go; these the fields, the hill-sides on which He taught. But everywhere fanatical tyranny, apathetic poverty,

illiteracy and superstition thwarted the progress of His Gospel; and in these haunts of ancient psalm and prophecy the Psalms and the Prophets were offered to strangers who knew Him not and were forbidden to know. The work of the Society was narrowed down year by year to little more than co-operation with missions and Christian institutions.

On the appointment of Mr Weakley the district round Beyrout, occupied chiefly by the American Presbyterian Mission, Cœle-Syria, Lebanon, and the neighbouring coast were practically supplied by the American Bible Society from the presses of the Mission. But Beyrout now became for the agency a distributing centre, under the management of Dr W. T. Van Dyck, son of the venerable translator. Thence the bulk of the Society's Arabic Scriptures — from 5000 to 12,000 a year—was despatched to the numberless fields in which Arabic was spoken. In 1884 and 1885 were voted the last free grants—upwards of 3000 copies to the British Syrian Schools, the Deaconesses' Orphanage and St George's School for Moslem and Druse Girls at Beyrout, the Church of Scotland Mission to the Jews, the Friends' Mission in Lebanon, and several schools in Palestine. Thenceforth the Scriptures were supplied at half-price. The Committee extended to the British Syrian Schools the system of subsidies for Biblewomen, and as early as 1884 twelve devoted workers (two at Damascus) were employed among Mohammedans, Maronites, Greeks, Druses, and Bedouins.

Mrs Mentor Mott, whose name will ever be associated like her sister's with the women of Syria, was taken to her rest in 1891, and the charge of the schools passed into the able management of Miss James. In 1895 a Sunday-school offering of £2 began a yearly subscription to the Society from the Moslem and Druse Girls' Orphanage at Beyrout.

On 13th November 1895, aged seventy-seven, Dr Van Dyck, one of the foremost of Bible translators, died of typhoid fever at Beyrout. In 1886 a version of his New

Testament was issued at the expense of both Societies, and a portable vowelled Bible, which it had been hoped the translator might see through the press, was published in 1899; but as the period drew to a close editions in other forms were required, together with greater facilities for obtaining Scriptures from the Beyrout press.

During these twenty years some 21,500 copies for local circulation left the joint depôt at Beyrout. Most of these went to the schools and missions; very few to native purchasers.

Nowhere did the Ottoman Government display a fiercer intolerance than at Damascus.[1] An especially jealous watch was kept on every movement towards Jebel Druse and the Bedouins of the Hauran. A colporteur in these wild regions was seized, dragged on foot several days' journey between armed horsemen, and imprisoned at Damascus until Lord Dufferin brought pressure to bear upon the Sultan. A second Bibleman, Abu Aziz, was arrested, and only released on the strong protest of the British Consul. One school was closed, another threatened; then as the only condition on which teaching could be tolerated, the schools were forbidden to receive Moslem scholars. But an increasing number of books went out from the Damascus depôt in charge of Dr Crawford, William Wright's successor, and for fourteen and a half years Abu Aziz traversed the country as far as Sudud (Zedad) in the north-east and the slopes of Hermon in the west. The Biblewomen, too, passed quietly on their way, spreading the message of peace, and teaching their sisters to read it for themselves. The effect of these and other efforts was measured by the suppression of all the Christian schools in the Hauran in 1891, and the blunt declaration of the Governor of Syria to the missionaries that none of their work was wanted. Operations were checked by cholera and the

[1] The centre of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, the London Jews' Society, a branch of the Syrian Schools, and the Edinburgh Medical Mission.

scare of the Armenian massacres, but when these troubles had gone by, the kindly reception of the colporteur, the friendliness of old enemies, the awakening of interest among the Greek Christians, the remnants of the old Syrian Church, and the Moslems themselves, proved that the course of the Gospel was stayed not by the people but by the implacable hostility of their rulers. Bible-reading was as perilous for a Moslem at Damascus as it once had been for an Italian in Florence. "Consequently," wrote Abu Aziz, "those who would fain learn something about our religion betake themselves to the house of some Christian friend, where they can quietly read and ask questions. Many come to my house at night. They wait for the happy time when freedom shall be in the land." That good day tarried. The colporteur's sales steadily declined until it seemed useless to continue them, and in the middle of 1901 his work came to an end. The depôt remained, and the circulation at Damascus during the twenty years amounted to 10,700 copies.

A more prosperous story during this time was in making at Antioch. With the aid of the Society a colporteur-evangelist was employed by the Rev. James Martin, M.D., of the Reformed Presbyterian Mission; and while a Bible-woman worked in the town and neighbourhood, Yakûb Isber ranged over the country from wicked Alexandretta to popish Aleppo—at one time selling or reading the Scriptures in the fields and vineyards, or on the flat roofs; at another reviled, cursed, spat upon in the streets and markets. "Burn those books!" cried the Romanist, "they corrupt the people;" the Jew answered a quotation from the Prophets with a stone; the "pagan" in a Nusairiyeh village[1] threatened with his ready knife. Out of the seed sprang the fruit in its season. Returning to Alexandretta and Arsûs, the colporteur found that the Word of God had been the most effective teacher and

[1] A wild, suspicious race, these Nusairiyeh. Their religion was a mystery—apparently a strange mingling of Canaanite paganism, corrupt Gnosticism, and Mohammedanism.

missionary; at Aleppo old buyers came to the khan and spent Sunday with him; in Antioch the shop-keepers called the passer-by, "Come and listen while the teacher reads. Thy work? This is better for thee than thy work!" The "pagans" made him stop to read to them—reapers cutting down wheat; and "God preserve thy mouth; go in peace," said they when he had read. In another village, where an old man had made a "holy place," and sat by it, taking care of it, and had also dug a well that travellers might be refreshed, "Praise be to God," said he, when Yakûb had read to him under the tree—"praise be to God who sent you here to-day, that I might hear these sweet words. Peace to thy mouth!"

The wave of the Armenian troubles broke as far south as Aintab, only a hundred miles away; but there was quiet at Antioch. Indeed Yakûb found easier access among these excitable people, and the withdrawal of the American missionaries brought Aleppo into closer touch with the Society. A Biblewoman was provided, a depôt opened, and on Christmas Day 1899 the first offertory on behalf of the Society was collected at a united service of Swiss, German, and English Protestants. Earlier in the year the first Bible Society meeting at Antioch had been addressed by the assistant-agent, Mr Cooper. When colportage had ceased everywhere else in Syria and Palestine, Yakûb Isber had still "the wages of going on."[1]

On a day in August 1885, shortly after the Feast of the Assumption, many school children and some dozen men and women were gathered near the statue of the Virgin in the outer court of the Latin monastery at Nazareth. Before the statue a bonfire was lit, and over fifty volumes of the Scriptures, seized in a priestly search of the houses, were cast into the flames. On the very spot occupied by the statue, the mother of Jesus may have stood in the days of

[1] The circulation from Damascus is included in the Beyrout figures.

His boyhood; on the place of this burning of His Gospel and the testimony of our redemption, the Divine Child may have played.[1] O religion, "what things are done in thy name!"

The people of Nazareth were ground down by Turkish misrule—pitiless taxation, forfeiture of land, invalidation of legal sales to Europeans; and the hatred of Christian benevolence went so far as to decree the surrender of the property of the Edinburgh Medical Mission. Both depôt-keeper and colporteur at Nazareth were required to take out costly licences—a mockery in the case of the latter, for the people were forbidden to buy his books, or even to give the man shelter. For sixteen years, with his books and a few simple medicines in his wallet, Anton el Farran had travelled among the villages of the hill country and upon the plain of Esdraelon, when his work had to be discontinued. Moslems, Greeks, and Bedouins still frequented the depôt, to hear the Word of God read and to speak of spiritual things; the field was occasionally visited by one of the Church Missionary Society men from the coast; and the Scottish Free Church Mission, which drew its supplies first from Nazareth and afterwards from Alexandria, was creating new centres of Christian activity at Tiberias and Safed, which may have been "the city set on a hill." A further change became desirable in 1895. The depôt, which had been under the direction of Dr Vartan since he founded it in 1872, was added to those which the agency held conjointly with the Church Missionary Society, but Elias Risik, who had been depositary from the beginning, was left in charge. Twelve thousand five hundred copies of Scripture passed through his hands in the course of the twenty years.

In the early part of the period the south country was divided among three colporteur-evangelists—one at Acre,

[1] The Latins claim that their convent includes the house of Mary and the scene of the Annunciation.

who travelled into Northern Galilee and down to Carmel; another at Jaffa, who journeyed over the plain of Sharon and the western slopes of Samaria and Judæa; while between Shiloh and Hebron, Joseph of Nazareth worked among the Moslem schools and Bedouin tents, visited the threshing floors in their season, and mixed with the Christian pilgrims going up to Jerusalem and—a counter demonstration—the Arab pilgrims with cymbals and drums and red and green banners on their way to the Tomb of Moses in the rocky wilderness of Judæa. Illiteracy, official persecution, and the reckless distribution of travellers,[1] destroyed the usefulness of this form of work, and the last incident connected with it was the arbitrary arrest and imprisonment of Joseph, who was ultimately exiled. After 1888 the agency acted, for ordinary purposes, through the Missions, and especially through the depôts which it held in common with the Church Missionary Society.

In 1887 Mr William Lethaby, a Wesleyan "free-lance," broke new ground at Kerek, the ancient Kir of Moab, a rude rock-town in the desert, south-east of the Dead Sea. In constant peril among the lawless sons of the wild, he laboured there as schoolmaster, doctor, evangelist, Bible-man—dreaming of the time when colporteurs from Muscat, Aden, and Moab should meet on the trade-routes of Arabia —until in 1894 the Church Missionary Society relieved him from the difficulties of his position.

For a month or two before Easter, ships, caravans, trains too in the long-run, brought the pilgrims to the Holy Places. Twice or thrice, when cholera raged, an imperial ukase and sanitary cordons debarred them from the country. Under direction of the agent, the yearly distribution was conducted by Mr Lethaby, Mr Irrsich, or some other discreet representative; and though illiteracy still prevailed and sectarian

[1] As an illustration of the abuse of these free gifts, we read as late as 1902 of "whole baskets of Scriptures offered for sale by *fellahin* on the Mount of Olives."

bitterness had not died out, a broader Christian spirit and more frequent sales became noticeable. The distributions credited to Jerusalem during the period amounted to 72,700 copies in sixteen languages, and of these 45,300 were placed in the hands of pilgrims.

Notwithstanding the reduction of its operations, the Society had thus its share in the hopes and successes of the missions and schools[1] which spread like a network over these Bible lands; in the work of the depôts at Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Jaffa, Acre, Beyrout and Nazareth, Damascus, Aleppo and Antioch; in the sisterly teaching and ministry of twoscore Biblewomen in town and village.

Taking the division of Syria and Palestine as a whole, the circulation of the period was 126,469 copies—the same figure within a few score as that of the watchers of the ships at Port Said.

One personage stood out in unique picturesqueness against the concourse of pilgrims at Jerusalem in 1903. It was Taitu, Empress of Abyssinia. A beautiful Amharic Bible and Testament were presented to her Majesty, through Canon Dowling, as a gift from the Society. Her name carries us to yet another region of the Egyptian Agency.

We left Abyssinia a prey to the disorders of a turbulent reign. Thousands of Mohammedans had embraced the Coptic faith almost at the sword's point, and the wild and capricious Johannes was changing mosques into churches for his "converts." Under his evil influence Menelik, the vassal-king of Shoa, not only turned back the Swedish missionaries on their way to Djemma in Galla-land, but determined to make an end of the St Chrischona work. The

[1] The grants in 1903 included an Arabic Portion for the blind in Braille type. As early as 1886 Arabic work in Braille was sanctioned, but conflicting views as to method prevented progress. The first chapter of Genesis by Dr Armitage was approved by the native pastor at Luxor in 1889; about 1895 some specimens by Miss J. H. Lovell of Jerusalem were printed by the Committee; and the Gospel of St Mark appeared in 1902.

devoted Meyer and his son-in-law Greiner were given the alternative—accession to the Abyssinian Church with its Mariolatry, or expulsion from the country. The Pilgrim missionaries refused to conform; after a settlement of thirty years in Shoa they were despoiled and driven out; and in 1886 Abyssinia was closed against the Bible.

Krapf's Amharic version in a single volume[1] had just left the press in an edition of 3000 Bibles and 5000 New Testaments, prepared by the veteran Flad and Orgawi, a native missionary of twelve years' standing; numerous printers' errors and textual blemishes — 1000 in the prophetical books alone—had been amended, and a new fount of type provided at a cost of £120. At the same time two other versions appeared—St Mark in Falash-Kara, translated by a Falash convert into the language of the coloured Jews, in the Kara district about Metemma; and St Matthew in Ittu-Galla, the work of Hajlu, a Galla freedman from Harar, who had been trained at Massowa.

Strange how an invisible hand seemed to weave into a design the chances of human action! The Italian flag now floated over Massowa. As soon as the occupation took place supplies of New Testaments and Portions had been sent for distribution among the Italian troops, and though some difficulties had been raised by the priests, the Swedish missionaries had been well received by officers and men, and were then and afterwards treated with friendly consideration by the authorities. Slave-gangs captured by the Italian cruisers were divided among the Romanist and Swedish Missions, and at the moment that Galla-land was shut, the Swedish schools were recruited by a troop of Galla slave children.

During the hostilities with the Dervishes and with Ras Alula on the Abyssinian borders, work could not be extended

[1] The Swedish Evangelical Society acknowledged the value of the version to their Massowa Mission by a spontaneous contribution of £25.

beyond the Italian lines. The Scriptures, however, were gladly purchased and taken home by merchants from Shoa; and when at length Johannes, fallen in battle, was succeeded as "King of the Kings" by Menelik, and Keren and Asmara were included in the Protectorate of Eritrea, the old mission stations in the Hamazen highlands, lost for twenty years, were re-occupied, houses rebuilt, schools opened, and medical, evangelistic, and Bible efforts resumed. With the help of a yearly grant colportage was begun. The people were well disposed; many of the clergy ignorant but eager for the Gospel message; the monks of the Coptic convents fiercely hostile; but the Italian tribunal broke the Abbot's cudgels and made it clearly known that religious freedom prevailed in Italian territory. With the assistance too of the Society, supplies of Scripture were sent into Western Abyssinia for the Falashas, and the New Testament in Northern Galla, translated by Onesimus Nesib, a Galla teacher, by the light of Krapf's version, was issued in 1893 from the Swedish press at Moncullo near Massowa.[1]

Meanwhile the agency had established an outpost at Aden. March 1886 Ibrahim Abd-el-Masih, a Moslem convert from Beyrout, landed as depositary and colporteur under Dr Harpur of the Church Missionary Society. Desire had lingered round the dangerous Turkish ports on the Red Sea, but here on British ground was such a meeting-place of races and creeds as rivalled in some respects even Port Said. From the Gulf sprang the promontory of Aden, the rocky shell of an ancient volcano. A causeway joined it to the mainland. In the hollow of the great crater were packed military cantonment and humming town—a population of 12,000, half of whom were constantly changing. Caravans came in from Yemen and Hadramaut; strange

[1] Krapf's version was in Central Galla; Ittu or Eastern Galla, already mentioned, was spoken in the district round Harar; a fourth form was Bararetta or Southern Galla, to which reference will be made later.

craft from the coasts of Arabia, Danakil and Somal, "the Unknown Horn of Africa." Coffee, spices, gums, perfumes, dyes, feathers, some 275,000 camel-loads of merchandise changed hands yearly. Among the dusky faces and coloured garb passed a succession of English regiments and batteries, making for home. On his way to India in the second century Pantænus found Christians here; Ibrahim encountered a very Babel of heathens, Mohammedans, Brahmins, Bhuddists, Jains, Parsees, and Jews; and among these last the descendants of Israelites who were in Yemen long before the heavens heard the terrible cry, "His blood be on us and on our children!"

A depôt was opened in the Camel Bazaar, and thither found their way hundreds of curious strangers—the sultans and viziers of Ben-el-Arab and Berbera, sheiks of Lahej, seyyids of Zanzibar, merchants from Abyssinia, Gallas, Persians, Banyas, Syrians, Arabs. Such illiteracy prevailed that much of Ibrahim's time was spent in reading the Scriptures to them and answering their questions about the Lord Jesus ("On whom peace!") But days were set apart for hospital visits ("O Ibrahim, does Christ save me?"); for work at Maala, the Arab harbour; at Steamer Point, where the great liners anchored; and at Sheik Othman, a large overflow colony some eight miles inland. More than once he went outside British territory to friendly Moslems who had invited him; while some other member of the staff "prospected" at Dhala, Quataba, or Makalla 300 miles east. Among the many people he got to know, the sick were told of Dr Harpur, and he was told of them, that he might relieve them. The sale of Scriptures was small—less than 6000 copies in seven years; but at the depôt alone nearly 12,000 people heard of the Saviour of the World, and listened to some portion of the Bible. Such good-will too had Ibrahim won, that when his little son died many Arabs came from the town and the country to offer

consolation, and to these he spoke in return of "the Father of mercies and God of all comfort."

Then came the good news that the way to Shoa was open, and the country safe. Stephanos Maqar reached Aden, but an Abyssinian seemed a more suitable envoy for the recovery of the lost ground, and Gobau Desta, sometime schoolmaster in the Keith-Falconer Mission at Sheik Othman,[1] proceeded to Harar. He took with him handsome gifts from the Society—Amharic and Ethiopic Scriptures for the Emperor, the Empress, and the vassal-king of Shoa, Ras Makonnen, nephew of Menelik, and a large Arabic Bible for the head of the Abyssinian Church. "I render ceaseless praise to God," wrote Menelik, "for your spiritual gifts and your prayers on behalf of myself and my country"; and the royal letter of thanks was accompanied by two large tusks of ivory, which were added to the treasures of the Bible House. But evil days had come upon the south country. Famine and then cholera swept the land. Desta lost his beloved wife — "she died serving the poor people as an evangelical deaconess"; and from the west a messenger brought him word, "Your mother, sisters, brothers, and most of your relatives are dead; that fairest part of Abyssinia, Dembea Gondar, is quite depopulated." Yet the work was continued with a brave heart; the Word of Life was distributed in these houses of death; and at Entoto many who had been taught by the St Chrischona missionaries came to see him, "bringing with them bread and honey-wine."

Stephanos, however, went northward on a bold mission, penetrated to Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, in its fruitful mountain country, and obtained from the Governor, the Kadi, and the Council free leave to sell his books throughout the province.[2] He disposed of 325 copies in Arabic,

[1] The Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer died at Sheik Othman May 1897 at the age of thirty, and his self-sacrificing work was carried on by the Free Church of Scotland.

[2] At Hodeida he saw the Egyptian steamer come in, and made himself known to three clergymen who landed. One requested to be left alone, that he might preach to the Arabs in the market-place. It was Bishop French, on his way to his last period of service at Muscat.

Hebrew, and Greek; but cholera, plague, chronic insurrection, and merciless repression prevented further use of this permit; thenceforth "the silent messengers" travelled inland with the camel trains returning from Aden. Thence he crossed the Gulf to Obok and the Somali towns in the Bay of Tajurra, visited Djibuti, Zeila and Berbera; and Zeila and Berbera being in British territory, he was at first checked by the usual British restrictions on Christian work among non-Christian British subjects. At Djibuti Abuna Yakoob (the Bishop) conversed with him over their coffee, and bought an Amharic Bible and ten copies of the Ethiop-Amharic Psalms; but here he was stayed by cholera for a month among the dying. No boat approached the shore, no town would receive a fugitive. "My hope in Christ," he wrote to Mr Weakley, "is that I may again see your face, but if it happens that I die I shall see you with Christ"; and a week later, "My hope was great to see you, sir. Indeed on the 4th of this month I *did* see you, and you took me by the hand and said, 'Do not be afraid, Stephanos;' and you gave me a book and money. And since the time I saw you I have become cheerful, I who before was grieving." (God send us in trouble the angel of good dreams!)

In 1894 he arrived in Harar with supplies of Arabic Scriptures to supplement the Amharic and Ethiopic work of Gobau Desta; but unhappily hostilities broke out afresh with the Italians; Menelik took the field; Ras Makonnen guarded the south; and though traders found their account in meeting the demand for the sacred books in Harar and Shoa, Abyssinia was once more barred against evangelistic enterprise.

At Aden Ibrahim resigned his post at the close of 1893, and was succeeded some months later by Mr W. Lethaby. It was the same routine, but the population had increased, and the Word of God was now required in nineteen languages. During her husband's absence for nine months through an

accident to one of his eyes, Mrs Lethaby filled his place, and the men of the Royal Artillery gallantly removed the depôt to better quarters. In the summer of 1899 his health completely broke down, and he was carried on board a homeward-bound ship. A financial arrangement was made with the Free Church Mission, and the depôt work and colportage at Aden entered on a new chapter under the care of the Rev. J. C. Young, M.D., chaplain of the Keith-Falconer Memorial Church. During the period 20,163 copies of the Scriptures were put into circulation.

Peace with the Italians was signed, but Abyssinia still remained jealously closed, when an unexpected turn was given to events in the autumn of 1899. The revised Ethiopic Testament[1] left the press at Leipzig just as Johannes, Bishop-elect of Gojam, arrived in Cairo to be consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch. The new prelate, who had formerly been a frequent visitor to the Alexandria depôt, greatly desired to possess a copy, and promised to do all in his power to further the Society's work in his future diocese. Beautiful specimens of the book were accordingly sent for presentation to Menelik, the Empress Taitu, Mattheos the Mutran (Archbishop) of Ethiopia, Bishop Johannes, and the great princes of the Empire; and warm acknowledgments were received under dates which curiously recalled the venerable antiquity of the Abyssinian Church.[2] "If you send a quantity of these books," wrote the Emperor, "to Adis Abeba, by a person bearing a letter from you, they will be received with pleasure, and I will see that they are distributed, and that a good price is paid for them." The surprising offer was gladly accepted. Early in 1902 Mr

[1] Pell Platt's version (*see* vol. ii. p. 24), carefully corrected by Professor Prætorius of Halle.

[2] The letters of the Emperor and the Mutran were dated 1893 (=1901) a survival of the "reformed Era of Alexandria," which placed the Incarnation seven years later than our Christian Era. The Bishop of Gojam's date, 1617 (=1901), referred to the Era of the Martyrs (beginning A.D. 284, *temp.* Diocletian), which was in general Christian use down to the introduction of the Christian Era in the sixth century.

Cooper had a gracious interview in Cairo with the Mutran Mattheos himself — a benevolent and twinkling-eyed old gentleman in silk robes of black and violet. "Abuna" ("Our Father") consented to be the bearer of the Society's letter on his return from Jerusalem and St Petersburg, and five hundred volumes bound in leather were shipped to Djbuti to be conveyed by his caravan to the imperial depositary at Adis Abeba.

While these matters were in progress, Tajelenj, an Abyssinian who had been with the Swedish missionaries since he was a lad, twenty years ago, was drawn by a great longing to his home near Gondar. His return was anxiously watched by his friends, but Ras Mangascia received him graciously: "Thanks be to God, my son, who hath brought thee back to thine own people," questioned him as to the beliefs and nationality of his teachers, and bade him go wail his dead, "but when I call for thee, come again." Tajelenj distributed the Scriptures he had brought with him, and preached the Word of God unswervingly, until the higher ecclesiastics stirred up strife against him. Then he bowed down to the ground before Menelik himself, and obtained from him a rescript which would silence his enemies: "The man, by name Tajelenj Gebra Mariam, who dwelt in Massowa, has visited us. We have tested his belief, and no one on account of his faith may do him any wrong," whereafter supplies of the sacred books were sent up to him from Asmara.

One incident remains to complete this chapter of strange happenings. Among the visitors at the Bible House at the coronation of King Edward VII. was the special envoy from Abyssinia, Ras Makonnen, attended by one of his suite, who proved to be no other than Gobau Desta of Harar. His Highness hoped that in time his country and the Bible Society might be drawn more closely together, and promised to facilitate the entrance of the Scriptures for sale into Abyssinia. That promise was fulfilled a year later at Harar,

when Dr Young visited him, and the consignment of books from Aden was admitted free of duty.

During these years the Society published 10,000 volumes in Amharic, 5020 in Ethiopic, and 3000 in Ethiop-Amharic; also 2505 in Galla, which included the Gospel of St John, translated into Bararetta by the Rev. T. Wakefield of Ribe.[1] In addition to these issues the Swedish Mission printed Onesimus Nesib's North Galla version of the whole Bible, and the New Testament in Tigré, and in Tigrinya, spoken west and north-west of Massowa.

An outlay of £1310 can be traced in connection with the Society's Abyssinian versions, but there are only casual figures as to actual distribution. The same obscurity rests on the liberal supplies received and circulated by the Swedish Mission in Eritrea, where in the Centenary Year three Biblewomen began work under the Society's auspices.

Thus, with a larger and more prosperous future in view, the survey of the vast Egyptain Agency closes, and we return to Alexandria for a final summary.

At the end of 1900 Bible Sunday was observed for the first time throughout the agency, which had now attained dimensions undreamed of at its founding. It extended from Malta to Zanzibar, from Antioch to Uganda. Within its bounds were Hermon and Ruwenzori, the "rivers of Damascus" and the snow-fountains of the Nile. Malta had been transferred to it from Italy in 1892; Cyprus from Turkey in 1894; and three years later Mombasa and the mission-fields of East Central Africa had been added.[2] On the 9th December, the second Sunday in Advent, special services were held at about 120 centres. The different

[1] The Gospel of St Matthew in the same tongue, translated by the Rev. R. M. Ormerod of the Tana River station, was ready for press in 1899, but it was not until after his death that a long search at the mission-station resulted in the discovery of the MS. It was published in 1904.

[2] For Malta, *see* p. 332; for Cyprus, p. 400; and for East Central Africa the next chapter.

Missions, British and American, German and Italian, Swedish and Dutch, heartily co-operated. The native Christians, people of many tongues and races, joined in intercession for the Society, and contributed upwards of £176 towards its work.

Enfeebled by severe attacks of illness, Mr Weakley resigned in the autumn of 1901, and was succeeded by the Rev. A. A. Cooper. For more than forty years he had given his strength to the service of the Gospel, and twenty-one of these were spent in the work of the Society.

The broad results of the period may now be briefly indicated.

In the year 1884 the circulation of the whole of the Egyptian Agency was 14,509 copies of Scripture, and of these 7746 were sold (3135 by colporteurs). In 1903, when between twenty and thirty colporteurs were employed off and on, the circulation had risen to 46,889 copies, of which 44,992 were sold (30,665 by colporteurs).

In the course of the twenty years 527,751 copies were distributed. Of these 430,362 were sold (222,066 by colporteurs). Versions in as many as fifty-eight languages were required. Arabic absorbed in 1886 34 per cent. of the entire issues. The proportion increased to 42 per cent. in 1896. In 1903 it was close upon 53 per cent.

Some 90,000 copies were scattered broadcast by missionaries. In the later years of the period the Society was the handmaid of nearly thirty distinct missionary societies, besides giving material assistance to schools, orphanages, and other Christian institutions. Biblewomen alone (of whom there were forty-nine in 1903) cost £5220—in Syria and Palestine £2702; in Egypt £2518.

The direct expenditure in connection with the agency amounted to £80,413; the total receipts to £16,241.

Yet all that had been done was but a small beginning compared with what remained to be undertaken. In Egypt

alone, with its population of nine and three quarter millions, only ten men in every hundred could read; ninety women in every hundred could not.[1] But if one saw in the future the long, long reaches and rapids, one also knew the boat-cry that would gladden and speed the toil—"*Ele-Aza*, Lord Jesus!"

[1] Between 50,000 and 60,000 children, however, were passing through the schools, and 15,000 were being taught in 200 mission schools.

CHAPTER LIV

ZANZIBAR AND THE GREAT LAKES

We pass to Uganda and its legend of blood and fire. Mtesa had been succeeded by his son Mwanga, a depraved youth of eighteen, whose ill-will to the missionaries was evident from the first. His suspicion and hostility were inflamed by his heathen counsellors, his apprehensions excited by the treacherous Arabs with reports of white men coming "to eat up" the country. Within a few months his savage nature broke bounds. In January 1885 Mackay and Ashe, on their way to the Nyanza, were driven back by armed men, and three of the native lads attached to the mission—the youngest a child of eleven—were seized and dragged to the edge of a swamp, where their arms were hewn off and their bleeding bodies flung upon a pile of burning brushwood. In the months of alarms and uncertainty which followed preparations were made for the worst; a scheme of organisation was planned; prayers, Scripture texts, hymns, forms of service were printed against the time when the Waganda converts should be left without a teacher. The translation of St Matthew had been begun, but progress was slow, for though the Swahili text could be turned into Luganda almost at sight, every verse was revised again and again by the best of the scholars before it was added to the manuscript. In October the heroic Bishop Hannington and his men were mercilessly slaughtered in Usoga, that sinister region through which it had long been foretold that Uganda would be conquered by men from the East.

From that day the fate of the Mission hung by a thread;

yet in the midst of dangers and scares, 350 copies of the first sheet of St Matthew appeared in November, and in December the proofs of the Sermon on the Mount were passing from hand to hand for correction. By the end of the year O'Flaherty was permitted to leave, and Mackay and Ashe remained alone.

Day by day the shadows deepened in 1886. In May the King was roused to madness by one of the princesses burning her charms and her ancestral fetiches. In his fury he attacked his pages, who were "readers"; one he ordered to be slain; the other, Kagwa, he gashed with his spear-head till his arm was weary. On the following morning began the bloody persecution which stirred to their depths the hearts of the native Christians in Tinnevelly, Madagascar, and Melanesia. On one scaffold of a great "burning" two-and-thirty witnesses passed to the martyr's crown. The chiefs were ordered to give up all the "readers" among their people. The roads were strewn with the limbs and heads of the slain. The man-hunters lay in watch for those who left their hiding-places under cover of darkness. Yet night after night many stole to the mission-house for baptism—men, boys, women even, and among these a princess. The missionaries interposed, but without effect, and at last, as the strongest protest in their power, they demanded permission to quit the kingdom. Mwanga laughed them to scorn; Mackay was a hostage whom he refused to release, but in August he allowed Ashe to leave for England with the ghastly details of his barbarity.

Deeply moved, and assured of earnest sympathy, the Church Missionary Society besought "its sister missionary societies," and the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society among them, to join in intercession on behalf of the Baganda Christians who still survived, "the devoted brother" detained by Mwanga, and the King, chiefs, and people. "I have had the consciousness strongly forced

upon me," wrote Mackay months afterwards, "that our very existence here is mightily due to the prayers of you and all the children of God in Europe."

Mr Ashe brought home with him the first thirteen chapters of St Matthew, all that had yet been prepared of the Luganda version. The Committee gladly undertook an edition, but as news came of the progress of the work it was agreed to await the rest. After many anxious and busy months—the dark late hours spent in reading, teaching, doctoring, the days occupied with weaving, carpentry, translation, printing—the Gospel was completed in March 1887, St John was begun, and fourteen chapters were ready in July, when, as the result of an Arab plot, Mwanga decided that Mackay should leave, and that the Rev. Cyril Gordon should succeed him. The choice, which was the King's, was made on the prestige of the mere name "Gordon"; the name of the White Pasha was as magical among the tribes of Central Africa as it had been among the hordes of China. In 1888 Mr Gordon was joined by the Rev. R. H. Walker; a few weeks later Mwanga was a fugitive; a new king was in power, and freedom of teaching and worship was proclaimed. "For a time the Baganda came about the station like swarms of bees; from the dawn of light to the dusk of evening they crowded both sides of the house and some of the rooms." Then the Arabs made their stroke against Christianity. The stations were pillaged; priests and missionaries were driven out across the lake: "Let no white man come hither till the whole of Buganda is Mohammedan." But the Written Word—the Luganda Gospel, the Testament in Swahili—remained an unquenchable light.

Most of the Baganda Christians found refuge with the King of Nkole, west of Uganda. There Stanley found them, and marvelled at the Christian spirit of these exiles, who were ready to feed, to shelter, to take up arms for the tyrant who had slaughtered their kinsmen and wasted their homes.

In October 1889 Mwanga was replaced upon his throne by the page he had cut down with his own hand. In 1890 the Arabs were again defeated, but alas! as the Christian chiefs were building in joy the great church on the hill near Mengo, the bright and intrepid leader of the mission, Alexander Mackay, died on the 8th February at Usambiro.

When Bishop Tucker reached Uganda in December the church was filled with a thousand Christians, great chiefs among them, and Kagwa the page, now Katikiro, the second man in the kingdom. Mwanga, who welcomed him with beating drums and trumpet sounding, seated him at his right hand. The caravan had brought up supplies of Scripture from the coast, and such was the eagerness of the people to have the Word of God that the equivalent of three months' work was gladly given for a Testament, and seven loads of the Swahili version were sold in a few hours.

The Society's first edition of the Luganda Matthew was already in circulation, and another 1000 copies had been printed. The fourteen chapters of John,[1] translated and revised by Mackay, had been found at Usambiro and completed by Gordon, with the help of the ablest of the Baganda converts, Henry Wright Duta and Sembera Mackay; more native scholars were employed, and in this memorable December, Mark and six chapters of Luke were in manuscript. The Bishop had brought with him a brilliant Greek scholar, Mr G. L. Pilkington, a pupil of Thring of Uppingham and sometime assistant-master at Harrow. Duta was appointed his assistant, and the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation followed in rapid succession and passed through the press.

The final portions of the New Testament reached the Bible House in 1892. By some mischance the First Epistle of John was wanting, but happily Gordon, R. H. Walker,

[1] A translation of St John by the Rev. R. P. Ashe appeared in 1891 and was reprinted by the Committee in the same year.

and Mika Sematimba were in England; the missing chapters were re-translated near Hull, and the first Luganda Testament was published. Generous donations were received from friends towards the printing and transport of large editions, and in 1893 and 1894 78,000 copies of native Scriptures were sent out to Uganda.

Before leaving England, Mr Walker and Mika Sematimba were received by the Committee. In the African, whose dark face was lit up "because of the words of the Lord," they saw an elder of the Church of Uganda who had been slave-boy, royal page, chief officer of the King's guard. Mika was presented with the newly finished Testament, and copies were sent to his six co-elders. "In Uganda," Mr Walker reported, "one realises the hopes of Erasmus and the narratives of Jerome"—the Muganda commits portions to memory as he follows the plough, reads it as he rests from work, or fishes in his boat on his inland sea; wherever he goes his book goes with him, guarded as his especial treasure.

Every account was full of the same glad tidings. The sales were "wonderful"; the people "leaped for joy." Even the smell of the books was thought delightful. Unlike the Chinese, who declared them bewitched, poisoned with devil's drugs, the Baganda "think you scent them, to make them more attractive." Walk through Mengo any night after sundown, said Bishop Tucker, and "you will hear sounds of prayer and praise coming from the enclosures in every part of the town." And that God seemed to be deepening the work, making it more real, in the hearts of those who had long been adherents, Pilkington took for a sure sign the proposal of the chiefs to do away with domestic slavery altogether. By 1896 the Baganda had built themselves at least two hundred places of worship; the native ministers, going two and two on their Bible journeys, were doing the work of about 400 colporteurs; the Word of God

had been made known far beyond the confines of the kingdom; and even the Romanists, unable to prevent the reading of the Scriptures, had given their own people the first two Gospels. Such results, Bishop Tucker gratefully acknowledged, could never have been attained without the Bible Society.

The first portion of the Old Testament which was received at the Bible House was Joshua, and though the Committee was confronted with the difficulty of Ulfilas, who dared not trust his fiery Goths with the Books of Kings, a small edition was issued in 1893. Exodus was printed in the same year. By 1895-96 the Psalms, Daniel, and the whole of the Pentateuch and Isaiah had appeared; Judges and Ruth were ready for press; the Minor Prophets had been translated by the Rev. W. A. Crabtree. In 1896 Mr Pilkington, who had returned to England with voluminous memoranda, completed the version which "had truly been beaten out during many years by the best brains among the Baganda themselves, with the help of Messrs Mackay, Ashe, Gordon, Walker, and the others who had been there." In 1897 the Book of Books reached Uganda. It was just twenty years since the pathfinders of the Nyanza Mission heard the rude song of their canoe-men, as they first crossed the stormy "sea" to Ukerewe: "Many men are dead; for them we are sorry, for they never saw the white man. We have seen the white man, and are glad."

Handsome copies, each stamped in gold with name and title on the cover, and accompanied by a letter from the Committee, were sent out to Archdeacon Walker of Mengo for presentation to Mwanga and Daudi (David) Kasagama, the Christian King of Toro. A third copy was a gift to Kagwa, the Prime Minister of Uganda.

In the meanwhile 15,700 New Testaments and 4000 Portions had been printed to meet the demands of the Mission, and in this red-letter year a large-type edition of

the revised Testament and a reference edition in smaller form were added to the issues.[1] Altogether 1006 Bibles, 22,319 Testaments, and 92,868 Portions had now appeared at a cost to the Society, for translation, publication, and shipment to Africa, of £2747. Up to 1898 £622 had been received from proceeds of sales after deductions towards the cost of transport from the coast and other expenses.[2]

Mr Pilkington returned to Africa in 1897 charged with the task of a complete revision of the Ganda text. Shortly afterwards an anonymous benefactor promised £500 towards the cost of the next edition, if it were promptly despatched. Before the year closed Pilkington, the fleetest of translators, lost his life in the mutiny in Usoga, after the betrayal of Fort Lubwas.[3] The work was carried out by the assistants he had chosen—Tomasi Semfuma, the Rev. Natanieli Mudeka, the Rev. Batolomayo Musoke, and Ham Mukasa, with the Rev. Henry Duta as chairman; and in the autumn of 1898 the revised copy arrived at the Bible House.

Events had moved rapidly since Bishop Tucker was welcomed with drums and trumpets at Mengo. The flag of the British Protectorate floated over Uganda and Unyoro; the great caravan route to the Nyanza had been completed, and one hundred and fifty miles of railway had been laid westward from Mombasa. The country, however, was so disturbed that mission-work suffered greatly; still there were now over 300 small churches ("synagogues," they were called), the "readers" numbered 80,000, and the schools, which the chiefs had built in nearly every district, scarcely held the bright-eyed crowds of children. In 1898, besides great quantities of Portions, prayer-books and hymn-books,

[1] The "readers" valued references so highly that they spent much time in copying those of the English version.

[2] The carriage alone to Uganda was estimated at 10s. 4d.

[3] Mwanga revolted against the British in 1897; the Soudanese troops mutinied against their English officers; and the loyalty and valour of the native Christians alone saved Uganda. It was while acting as interpreter that Mr Pilkington fell. Mwanga's infant son Chowa was proclaimed King, and Mwanga was banished to the Seychelles. There he died a Christian at last.

some 5300 Bibles and Testaments were bought, and the amount paid—£1433—came in shell currency to 6,800,000 cowries, a load for a train of 340 wangwana.

About this time, too, attention was drawn to the needs of the sightless. An experiment was made with three chapters of St Matthew in Braille, and subsequently the Sermon on the Mount and the Gospel of St John were transliterated by Mrs Western of Shortlands, and proofs sent out, but there is no record of actual publication.

The Revised Ganda Bible, with an emergency edition of the Reference Testament, was published in 1899. It was received with shouts of joy; and "the acanthus crowned the column" when in 1902 another edition of the Bible was issued with references, most of which had been prepared by the Rev. G. K. Baskerville and the lady missionaries in Central Africa.

In 1901 the Bishop gave to the Library a volume of unique interest—a Commentary on St Matthew, by the Rev. Ham Mukasa, printed and bound by native Christian lads.

At the coronation of King Edward one of the distinguished figures among the foreign guests was Kagwa the Katikiro of Uganda. Before he departed with his companion, the author of the Commentary, he was presented by the Committee with an inscribed Bible; and in making his acknowledgments, expressed his gratitude for all that the Society had done for the good of his country. His one regret was the lack of teachers to satisfy the wants of all who desired to learn.

From 1st January 1903 Uganda, hitherto a dependency of Zanzibar, passed under the control of a Bible committee, with Bishop Tucker as president. It was in direct relationship with the Bible House, which shared with the Church Missionary Society the services of Mr C. J. Phillips as business agent. The Ganda Bible sold at first at 10s., "which meant fifty days' work"; afterwards the cost ranged

from 4s. to 12s.; the prices were now fixed by the missionaries, and the latest edition might be had for 2s. 6d. As the period closed a board was appointed for the second revision of the text.

From 1888 to the end of the Centenary Year the Society printed 213,290 copies of Luganda Scriptures (including some 16,000 Bibles and 64,000 Testaments), but less came back in the way of sale receipts than half the expenditure on printing and transport.

On the 1st January 1904 the Soudan Government began a service of passenger steamers between Khartoum and Gondokoro, the northern Nile post of the Uganda protectorate. It was scarcely forty-two years since the first white man saw Uganda, at that time so far away and only to be reached through such deadly perils that the Arabs called it "the Land of the Grave."

For the sake of clearness we shall now group together the versions which sprang up along the various lines of missionary activity.

When the pioneers of Uganda turned their faces from Zanzibar, their track ran west to Mamboia and Mpwapwa in Usagara, crossed the treeless plains of Ugogo, and, slanting northward to the Nyanza, traversed the fair villages hedged with euphorbia and the broad millet fields of Usukuma. Translation began in the language of Nguru, which lay north of Usagara. St Luke, by Mr J. T. Last, was published at the Bible House in 1885. He had also prepared Matthew, Ruth, and Jonah, but nothing more was done until 1894, when St Matthew, by the Rev. A. N. Wood of Mamboia, was issued. St John, by the same translator, followed in the course of the year. Altogether no more than 1515 copies of Portions in Kaguru were printed.

The language was allied to that of Ugogo on the west, but differed so widely that the books were unreadable on

the treeless plains, and a more prosperous essay was made in Gogo. St Luke, by the Rev. J. C. Price of Mpwapwa, appeared in 1887; Matthew, by the Rev. H. Cole of Kisokwe, and Ruth and Jonah, by his successor the Rev. J. E. Beverley, between that date and 1893; and the Gospels and Acts, supervised by Mr Wood, in 1897. The rest of the New Testament—Romans–Revelation—left the press under the editorship of Mr Beverley in 1899. The issues in Gogo up to 1904 numbered 7555 copies. These regions fell within the limits of the German sphere of influence, and Mpwapwa became a centre of distribution for French and German Scriptures among travellers and traders.

So we enter the cheerful land of Usukuma. Hither of their own goodwill the catechist Natanieri (Nathaniel) and Henry Mukasa came from Uganda to teach the people. The Gospel of St Matthew, translated into Sukuma by Nathaniel and transcribed and revised by the Rev. S. H. Hubbard of Nassa, at the south-east corner of the lake, was printed in 1895. Matthew, Mark (worked out from the first draft by Mr Gordon), and John by Mr Hubbard were seen through the press in 1896 by Mr Pilkington and his sister. The Acts by Mr Hubbard, and St Luke, the lost MS. of which had been found in Uganda, were published in the following year. Revised texts were issued at intervals, and in 1903 appeared the Epistle of St James, translated by the Rev. J. W. Purser and revised by Mr Gordon. Sukuma, 3243 copies.

Cross 300 miles of island-studded waters! Beyond the western border of Uganda the country rolled away in forest, grassland, fertile valleys, to the Albert and Albert Edward Lakes, and between the lakes to the enormous snowy summits of Ruwenzori, the "old Moon-mountains African." It was all Bunyoro until the southern half of the country, Toro, separated under a king of its own. To

these tribes the first tidings of the Gospel were brought by Apollos Kivebulaya. At Mboga, on the edge of the Great Forest, his bitter opponent, the chief Tabalo, accused him of murder. His innocence was proved, and the only compensation he would accept was freedom to continue his teaching. His early enemy—Tabalo no longer, but Paulo —became like his great namesake as ardent a disciple as he had been a fierce persecutor. Then Apollos felt the need of the Word of God for the people, but the only books were Luganda Scriptures, and though the languages were closely related, old words had taken other meanings, so that the very resemblance was a cause of confusion.[1] Night after night, therefore, with some sheets of paper, a piece of blue pencil, and his Ganda Testament, Apollos lay on the ground —for chairs and tables were unknown in the land—and translated St Matthew by the smoky glimmer of a fire of sticks.

Other evangelists arrived; mission stations were planted; the people were eager to learn; King Daudi Kasagama became Christian. The emblazoned copy of the Luganda Bible reached him in 1898; and the King wrote to "the Elders who print," telling of his delight in the book; of the teachers who in these days were translating "at our place," Bethlehem; of the great longing for books in their own tongue among the Christians, who were many in Toro. The Matthew of Apollos (revised) and St John by Mr H. E. Maddox reached the Bible House in 1899,[2] and were placed in the printers' hands; and Mark followed in 1900. Large editions of Matthew, Mark, and John, and of Luke and the Acts, were seen through the press by Mr Maddox, who read the proofs of the Psalms also before returning to his distant

[1] For instance, *okuita* in Ganda means "to call," in Nyoro "to kill"; *okutukura* in Ganda "to be white," in Nyoro "to be red"; *okuenda* in Ganda "to be immoral," in Nyoro "to love."

[2] Some confusion was caused by describing Matthew as in "Toro" and John in "Nyoro." When it was seen that both were in the same tongue the name "Toro" was dropped.

post. As the period ended a fresh edition of the Gospels and Acts was passing through the press, and the translation of the New Testament was nearing completion.[1] The issue of Nyoro Portions amounted to 33,925 copies—numerically the largest in any of these African tongues except Ganda and Swahili; and there were those who foreshadowed the time when, still further west, Pigmy evangelists would illumine the dark central forests which border the Kongo Free State.

Lastly, on the northern shores of the Nyanza, east of the Nile—of which Bishop Hannington had just caught his first rapturous sight when he was seized on the hill by the savages of Usoga—St John was translated into Soga by the Rev. F. Rowling, assisted by Baganda teachers, and 700 copies were published in 1900.

We now take the route which the Bishop followed on his fatal journey from Mombasa. After visiting the C.M.S. stations in Giryama he started from Rabai and struck into the north-west. From Sagalla, where a track breaks westward through the Taita country to Taveta and to Chagga on the Swiss-like ascents of Kilimanjaro, he passed through Kikumbuliu, crossed the grassy plain to the forest highlands of Kikuyu, and came at length to the summit of the last great range, with "fair Kavirondo" at its feet, and Usoga and its martyr crown a week's march away.

The first Giryama Portion—St Luke, by the Rev. W. E. Taylor—was issued as a diglot with the Mombasa Swahili text in 1892, and the Acts appeared in 1893. The Rev. Douglas Hooper of Jilore translated Matthew, the Psalms, Mark, John, and the Old Testament. This last, towards the publication of which he presented £250, was published in 1901.

[1] In the Report for 1905 we find "the printing of the New Testament completed"—within five years of the publication of the first Gospel.

In 1882 the Rev. J. A. Wray settled among the war-like hill-tribes round Taita, which Krapf had long ago chosen as the first link in his chain of stations to the Atlantic. The people were cruel and superstitious, with no idea of God save as a malign being "making and marring clay at will." He learned the language from their children, bore a charmed life among the poisoned arrows of the rain-makers, and when he left on his first furlough seven years afterwards, some of the church elders, to show their love, trudged 120 miles with him to the coast. He returned in 1892 with St Mark in the principal dialect, Sagalla; and St John was issued in 1897. At the opening of their new church in 1902, their first offertory on behalf of the Society—dozens of eggs and articles out of the wood of a tree which was once held very sacred—realised £1.

At Mochi in the Chagga country on the southern slopes of Kilimanjaro St Matthew in Chagga, by the Rev. A. R. Steggall, was published in 1892; but in September that year the mission was withdrawn, at the wish of the German Government, to Taveta on the British side of the boundary. A Taveta version of St John by Mr Steggall had just been issued by the Committee; Luke, Matthew, and Acts (based on a native first draft from the Swahili) appeared at intervals up to 1900; St Mark was added in 1903. It was a revision of Yohana Nene's translation, printed at Mochi eleven years back by Mr Steggall's native scholars. A tentative edition of St John in Kikuyu, by the Rev. A. W. M'Gregor, was issued in 1903. The people, a free and hardy race, numbered from 200,000 to 300,000 souls, between the iron way to Uganda and the equatorial snows of Mount Kenia. The Four Gospels in Masaba, by the Rev. W. A. Crabtree, were put into the hands of the printers in the last days of the period. It was the language of Bishop Hannington's "fair Kavirondo."

We return to the coast. Far north, in Witu, the

Rev. L. Würtz of the Neukirchen Mission, assisted by Abdullah, a Christian of Ngao, translated St Mark into Pokomo for a tribe on the Tana River. Some 2500 copies were issued in 1894; and 1000 New Testaments and 500 Portions in 1900. West of the Wapokomo lay the Wakamba, the traders of the interior, for whom Krapf printed St Mark as far back as 1850; just as the period ended, the MS. of the Acts, translated into Kamba by the Leipzig missionaries, reached the Bible House.

Forty-two years had gone since Krapf cut his large cross on a tree in Usambara when, here among the Wabondei, "the Valley Folk" (Washenzi, "the beaten folk," said the coast people), Archdeacon Farler of the Universities Mission completed his St Matthew in Bondei. After tentative publication at Zanzibar in 1887, a small edition was printed at home. In 1892 St Luke, also published tentatively, was revised by two Magila natives studying in England for holy orders. The country became German territory; and in 1903 the Committee published in Shambala, spoken round Bumbuli, the Gospel of St Luke, translated by Pastor Roehl of the Evangelical Missionary Society for German East Africa.

From Urambo in Unyamwezi, south of the pleasant land of Usukuma, the Rev. T. F. Shaw of the London Missionary Society brought home the Synoptic Gospels in Nyamwezi. St Mark was printed in 1897, and also St Matthew, by the Rev. L. Stern of the Moravian Mission. Four years earlier the Rev. D. Picton Jones carried through the press St Mark in Mambwe, the speech of the ring-fenced villages on the Tanganyika-Nyassa plateau and along the southern shores of Tanganyika. His translation of St John followed in 1898, and in 1901 the complete New Testament appeared. For tribes in "the Wilderness" (Nyika), midway between the two lakes, 1000 copies of St Matthew, translated into Nyassa Nyika by the Rev. T. Bachmann, a Moravian missionary, left the press in 1904.

In 1903 were published 1000 copies of St Luke in Namwanga, translated by the Rev. Alexander Dewar of the Livingstonia Mission, for the people round Karonga on the north-western shore of Lake Nyassa.

Descending the lake, we resume the account of the Scriptures in Yao, one of the languages spoken among the tribes in the regions on the east and south. The work begun by Bishop Chauncy Maples was taken up by the Rev. Alexander Hetherwick of the Blantyre Mission. He purged the text of St Matthew of its Swahili words, completed the Four Gospels and Acts, which were issued in 1889, and in spite of the pressure of other work brought home the concluding portions of the New Testament in 1897. In all, 7592 copies were issued in Yao.

But the dominant tongue of this Nyassa country was Chi-Nyanja, "the Speech of the Lake," which ranged in one or other of its dialects through the Shiré Highlands to the mouth of the Zambesi. From 1882 it had been studied in its eastern form by the men of the Universities Mission, and many books of the Old and New Testaments were printed at their press on the Island of Likoma, and again and again revised with the help of the native teachers. In 1894 a small tentative edition of part of Nehemiah, by the Rev. W. P. Johnson (afterwards Archdeacon), was published by the Society; five years later Matthew and John by Bishop Chauncy Maples, and Mark, Luke, and the Acts by the Archdeacon were seen through the press by the Rev. J. S. Wimbush; and Jeremiah appeared in 1900. But already versions in Chi-Nyanja had been issued by the Free Church missionaries in a western dialect, and by the Established Church Mission in that of Blantyre, and in 1900 there arose the question of a Union text which, if possible, should absorb two at least of the three versions. A Nyanja Bible Committee was appointed from representatives of the Scottish Missions, the Zambesi Industrial Mission, and the Dutch

Reformed Myera Mission, and in 1902 the British and Scottish Bible Societies shared the cost of 5000 copies of this new translation. The missionaries of the Universities, however, found that the usage and the meanings of words on the eastern side of Lake Nyassa were too different to admit of its immediate adoption in their sphere.[1] Of the Eastern Nyanja Scriptures some 1800 copies were issued from the Bible House.

The Free Church Nyanja version had for some time been used among the Otonga around the Bandawe station, half way up the western side of the lake ; but it was unintelligible except to mission scholars and travelled men, and in 1900 the Gospel of St John in Chitonga, by the Rev. R. D. M'Minn, was published in an edition of 5500 copies. Yet another language was added in 1899, when the Committee printed 3000 copies of Matthew, Mark and Luke in Mkondi, translated by the German and Moravian missionaries who had worked for eight years in cordial agreement with the Free Church in Livingstonia.

Specimens of Scripture translation in Chicunda were sent home from the Lower Zambesi in 1896, but the only other language of the great river in which any portion appeared was Sena, spoken by about 200,000 people between Teté and the confluence of the Shiré. Mark (500 copies) was issued in 1897. The translator, the Rev. W. J. Anderson, was driven by illness from the field shortly afterwards, but in 1901 a similar edition of Acts i.-xv. was printed in hope of its future completion.

"Before the date of Livingstone's discoveries little was known of the Zambesi, and practically nothing beyond." In 1873 his heart was buried, as he would have wished, in "the still, still forest" of Ilala,[2] and one looks back

[1] The work was continued, and the Nyanja Union New Testament was finished in 1906.

[2] Not far from Lake Bangweolo, on whose shore he died, Livingstone came, in 1868, upon a forest grave—"a little rounded mound, as if the occupant sat in it in the usual native way. It was strewed over with flour, and a number of the large blue

with wonder on the changes that have since taken place. Mission stations, churches, schools with the Scriptures in the native tongue, bless the land once ravaged by Arab raiders. English gunboats and trading vessels are on the waters of Nyassa, where in 1880 "the dusky heirs of Calvary" were sold, unmarried girls and young men in their strength for forty or fifty yards of calico, and the old for less than might be measured with outstretched arms. In a few hours a telegram from any English country village now reaches Kota Kota and other places on the lake shores.

From its centre in Zanzibar, during these years, the work of the Society developed with the expansion of missionary enterprise. Fresh editions of the Swahili Scriptures left the press, and quantities of paper were sent out for "tentative" printing. Consignments of Scriptures were forwarded to every mission within the wide range of the *lingua franca*—to the schools at Freretown and Rabai (with large-type copies for the old people), to the Neukirchen men in Witu, to the Wesleyans in the Isle of Lamu, once the dolorous *entrepôt* of the slave-trade. Supplies in Arabic were sent to Likoma, where contact with Mohammedans became more and more frequent; in Arabic and in Swahili to the African Lakes Company, whose agents were expected to use every chance of spreading the Gospel; in Zulu to Livingstonia, where, though the Bible cost 3s.—a month's wages,—the people would not be satisfied with the New Testament alone; in Persian, Arabic, Gujarati, Balochi, Marathi, Panjabi to Mombasa, where the Babel of Eastern tongues recalled the antiquity of the trade of India with the African coast; while in Zanzibar itself the depôt had its stock of English, German, French, for the passing ships of the white world.

The Swahili version progressed steadily under the untiring pen of Archdeacon Hodgson. Joshua was in circulation in

beads put on it; a little path showed that it had visitors. This is the sort of grave I should prefer: to be in the still, still forest, and no hand ever disturb my bones."—Blaikie, *Life of David Livingstone*, p. 382.

1885; the other books of the Old Testament were printed, as they were finished, in tentative editions at Zanzibar; and in 1892, ten years from the time Bishop Steere expressed the hope that at no very distant period they might give "the negro world its completed guide to everlasting rest," the Swahili Bible, made up of the various parts, was in circulation.

Meanwhile an edition of the New Testament, revised by Mr A. C. Madan and Archdeacon Jones-Bateman, had been issued by the Committee. The new readings, however, did not satisfy the people. An amendment board under the presidency of Bishop Smythies, was appointed by the Synod of the Universities Mission, and in 1894 the volume was published at the mission press. It was the Bishop's last version work, just as the last cheque he signed was a donation to the Society.[1]

In 1895 an edition of the Swahili Old Testament, which had been revised by Archdeacon Hodgson, was printed under his supervision in London.

Hitherto Roman type had been used for the Swahili Scriptures, but Miss Allen, whose views were weighted by her remarkable work among the girls and women of Zanzibar, suggested the greater ease and attraction of Arabic characters for a large class of readers. Her Arabic transcript of John was issued by the Committee in 1888;[2] Matthew by Archdeacon Farler and Peter Limo, a Moslem

[1] In the chancel of the quaint Norman church at Studland, Dorset, a tablet bears the inscription:—

"Charles Alan Smythies
Bishop of Zanzibar
1883-1894
died on board *SS. Peiho*
and buried in the Indian Ocean
May 7 1894, aged 49.
His boyhood was spent in Studland."

[2] It was a singular illustration of Miss Allen's influence that in this year she prevailed on the Imaum of one of the mosques of Zanzibar to offer public prayers in the holy month of Ramadan for divine enlightenment as to which was the true religion, Islam or Christianity.

convert, appeared in 1891, and Luke in Northern Swahili by the Rev. W. E. Taylor three years later.

The comparative value and purity of the northern and southern forms of Swahili had long ceased to be a question, when in 1891, at the request of the Church Missionary Society, an edition of the Rev. W. E. Taylor's version of St Luke was undertaken by the Committee, to test the usefulness of the Mombasa dialect. It was published in diglot, as we have seen, with Giryama.[1] The need for two Swahili versions was admitted after careful deliberation with the Church Missionary Society and the Universities Mission, and in 1897, St John in the northern form was issued in both Arabic and Roman character. In 1898 the Committee accepted an offer from Mr Herbert Taylor and Messrs Taylor Brothers of Chesterfield to defray the cost of an edition of the Bible in Mombasa Swahili, on condition that the Rev. W. E. Taylor should have charge of the version. Publication was delayed by removals and illness, but 2500 copies of the Four Gospels were published in 1901 and 4000 Psalters in 1904.

This was not the only sign of growth. Early in 1887 Bishop Parker (Hannington's successor) had urged the establishment of a depôt at Freretown;[2] partnership with the Church Missionary Society in a stall in the market at Mombasa was proposed by Bishop Tucker in 1894; but no step was taken till two years later, when it was decided to centralise the supply of missions and broaden the general distribution. East Africa was made a dependency of the Egyptian Agency, and in September 1896 Mr Joseph Mackertich, younger brother of the Society's representative in Persia, reached Mombasa as sub-agent. He visited the mission stations from Lamu to Zanzibar, colported among

[1] This was the Gospel afterwards transliterated into Arabic character.

[2] Before his letter reached England he had been buried, when it was calm after a night of wind and rain, and dark before a dawn of crimson and gold, in the second Christian grave at Usambiro.

the coolies on the Uganda railway, sold in many tongues on the vessels in harbour—Indian dhows laden with water-pots and salt, Swahili with dried shark, Persian with fruit and earthenware, Arab with cows, sheep, dates. The engagement was for a year, and as his wife's health gave little hope of her being able to join him, he returned in February 1898.

His place was taken by the Rev. T. F. Shaw, the translator of the Nyamwezi Gospels, a man of many years' experience in East Africa; and the cause was further strengthened by the appointment of the Rev. W. G. Peel, an honoured vice-president of the Bombay Auxiliary, to the newly formed bishopric of Mombasa. In these circumstances the transfer of headquarters to Zanzibar was made with the least prejudice.

In November Mr Shaw was received in private audience by the Sultan, who graciously accepted a special copy of the Arabic Bible and promised to read and treasure it. The goodwill of the British residents and of the C.M.S. Coast Mission was shown in gifts amounting to £24.

It was not long before the actual condition of the east coast and the nearer hinterland became vividly distinct under the searchlight of the agency system. With the exception of Zanzibar with 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants, Mombasa with 20,000 to 25,000, Nairobi which had sprung up on the Uganda railway, and a few ports of 2000 or 3000, there were no towns in this vast tract—no villages even, and the people were scattered in very small hamlets or in detached clearings. It was a black Norway under the blazing ecliptic. Outside the native mission communities the population was as apathetic as it was illiterate. Depôts could serve no purpose. For colportage there were few openings, and no men; the "boys" employed for want of something better were too ignorant to read effectively to the crowd, and gave trouble out of all proportion to their value. Remained the Arabs and other

Asiatics and the small European colonies. Of 41,800 copies of Scripture in twenty languages put into circulation by the agency from 1899 to 1903, no fewer than 34,600 were supplied to the missions on the usual "missionary terms." In East Africa the Mission and the Bible Society were as essential to each other as "one wing to the other wing"; and for some time to come little solid work among the natives could be achieved save by the co-operation of the two.

In the immense region described in this chapter twenty-five new languages became Biblical in these twenty years. Twenty-two were printed (300,068 copies); one was passing through the press; two were still in MS. In Swahili and Yao 82,652 copies were added, making a total for the period of 382,720. With the 16,000 odd copies of earlier years, the Society's work in East and Central Africa was represented by 399,464 volumes in eight-and-twenty languages.

Of these, one notes the striking fact, that 213,290 were in the language of Uganda, the martyr-land of Africa.

"How that red rain had made the harvest grow!"

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